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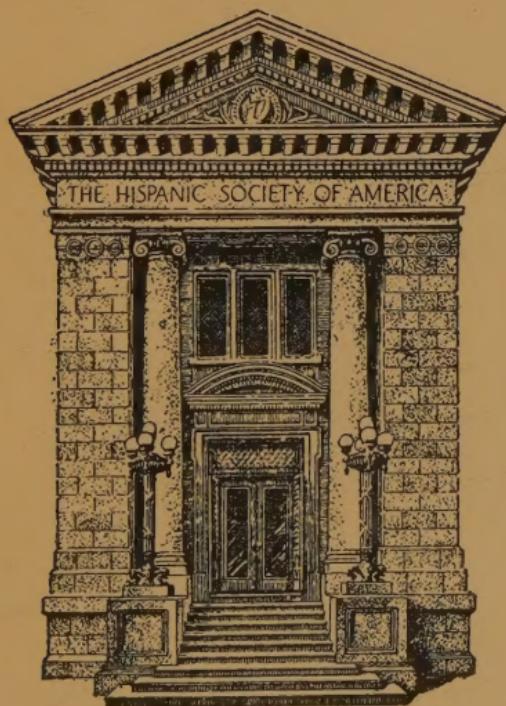
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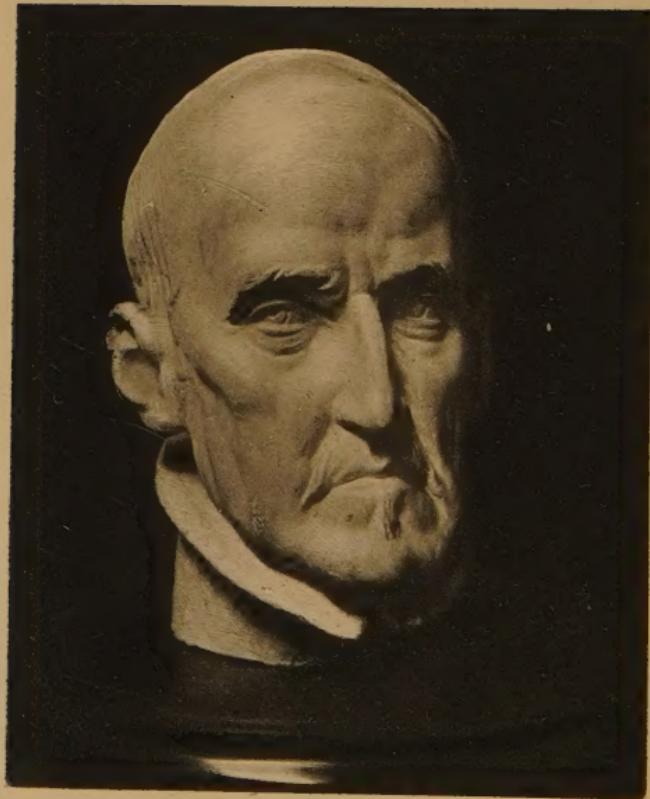


OF AMERICA

HISPANIC NOTES & MONOGRAPHS

ESSAYS, STUDIES, AND BRIEF
BIOGRAPHIES, ISSUED BY THE
HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

PENINSULAR SERIES



LUIS DE GONGORA Y ARGOTE

(1561-1627)

BY

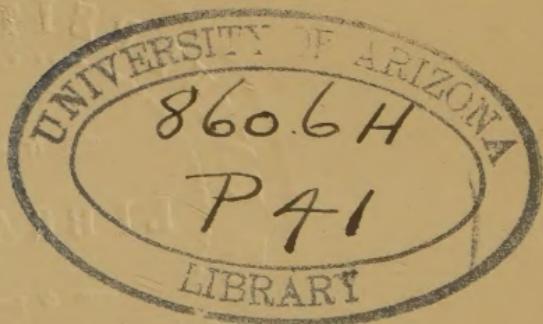
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Society of America



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FOREWORD

Few facts are known regarding the life of Góngora, and these few are scattered through many volumes. No one, even in Spain, until this year, has collected them into a biography. There are biographical notes prefixed to different editions of his works and to French criticisms. M. Raymond Foulché-Delbosc has recently issued his *Obras poéticas* in three volumes. Although offering little biographical material as such, it has settled many debated points, since it is as nearly authoritative as any collection of Góngora's disseminated verse is ever likely to be. Señor Don Manuel González Francés has published, in two booklets, valuable information from the records of the Cathedral Chapter at Córdoba of which Don Luis was so long a member. Although at least two Englishmen before 1700 were

sufficiently interested to make translations of several of his poems—one even attempting the *Soledades*—nevertheless, Archdeacon Churton in the middle of the nineteenth century and Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly in our own day are the only ones who have written more than parenthetical studies of his life and works.

The present sketch had its origin in bibliographical work on the rare editions of Góngora in the Library of The Hispanic Society of America. It lays no claim to comprehensiveness. Its only aim was to collect, in English, the notices run down in different volumes pending the time when the wide gaps of Góngora's life shall be bridged and a real biography written.

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H I S P A N I C N O T E S

I

*Now, all pomp, the Moorish hero,
Whilst his robes sweet perfumes throw,
Lays aside his crooked sabre,
Hangs on high his moony bow.*

*His hoarse tambours, hoarse no longer
Seem like amorous turtle-doves;
And his pendants streaming favours,
Favours given by her he loves*

*All things serve their gentle passion,
Every thing fresh joy assumes;
Flattering, if not babbling breezes,
Stir their robes and toss their plumes.*

*Green fields yield them mossy carpets,
Trees pavilions, flowers the vales,
Peaceful fountains golden slumber,
Music love-lorn nightingales.*

*Trunks their bark, whose tablets better
Keep their names than plates of brass;
Better far than ivory pages,
Than the marble's sculptured mass.*

*Not a beech but bears some cipher,
Tender word, or amorous text;
If one vale sounds Angelina,
Angelina sounds the next (1).*

Luis de Góngora y Argote, another of its poets, was born on July 11th, 1561 to Córdoba, the ancient city of legends and romance, the birthplace of so many eminent

Birth

G O N G O R A

men. He was of good family, the son of Doña Leonor de Góngora and Don Francisco de Argote, a magistrate of the city and an official of the Inquisition (2).

Youth

No details are known of his early life, his childhood being, very probably, similar to that of any normal boy, eventful only to himself. The biographers slip over these years by saying that he received the education appropriate to his intelligence and family standing. At the age of fifteen, he was sent to the University of Salamanca to fit himself, by studying law, to follow in his father's footsteps.

Salamanca

Salamanca, the oldest existing university on the Iberian Peninsula and, in those days, one of the chief universities of Europe, drew students from the whole continent and even from the Indies, Mexico, and Peru, especially for its lectures on civil and canon law. At this time it had reached the height of its prestige and powers. Cervantes estimated the number of its students at ten or twelve thousand, Góngora's anonymous biographer at fourteen thousand, and an

Foundation
Number of
students

H I S P A N I C N O T E S

Italian, P. Caimo, at fifteen thousand. The entries in the "Books of Matriculation", cold facts which bring these flights of fancy to earth, give the number enrolled in 1546 (the year in which these records were started) as 5150; in 1584-85 it reached "*6778 which is the highest that university can show*" (3). Impressed with its numbers and awed by its dignity, the Cordovan lad, in 1576, became enrolled as a student at the University of Salamanca. Señora Blanca de los Ríos de Lampérez (4) mentions having seen among the *Nobles generosos y dignidades*, for the year 1579-80, the following entry: "*Don Luis de Góngora, natural de Córdoba, se matriculó ante mí, Bartolomé Sánchez, hoy 20 de Noviembre de 1579 años.*"

It is known that Góngora, in addition to his law studies, also attended lectures in theology, perhaps in deference to a canon uncle. Those lectures may have been heard in the dark, dusty, little room at the left of the entrance—no other than the one shown now as that of Luis de León—with its rough

Luis de León

log benches and plank desks carved with the names of generations of restless students. It was in the latter part of this very year, 1576, that Luis de León was reinstated in the University, perhaps with a triumphal procession of the students. It would be easy to imagine that the young Luis de Góngora, new to college life, excited by the freedom from home restraint and by the apparent injustice of the imprisonment, was among those who entered his classes. It may be that Góngora heard the world-known phrase "As we were saying yesterday", for, if at all, it was in January 1577 that the unfortunate poet and professor so began his lecture.

Be this as it may, it is perhaps of interest to record in this connection the fact that a collection of Luis de León's poems was published by Quevedo in 1631 in the idle hope of stemming "the current of Gongorism in Spain" (5).

Medina

An idea of the life of Góngora at Salamanca may be found in Pedro de Medina's account of the university and students,



PULPIT IN LUIS DE
LEON'S LECTURE ROOM



which goes towards proving that even college boys almost attained perfection in those days. He says that the students always spoke and acted with great decorum and seriousness. They wore caps and long gowns. Clothes were of linen or wool, without ornamentation or frills. All students, regardless of rank, were forbidden to wear silk. Every night they studied from six to nine o'clock in their own rooms. "It is a very admirable thing and of great content to find that during these three hours of study, of the seven thousand students, never can one hundred of them be found either on the streets or even in the homes of their parents, but all are assembled and closeted in their separate rooms, while a great stillness rests on the whole house" (6).

Notwithstanding this ideal life, Góngora had not been at the University long when it was discovered that he was not advancing in his law studies. Whether or not it was owing to an imagination fostered too far by Córdoba or to the student life at Salamanca, it was nevertheless true that

Law studies he did not progress as befitted the son of a *corregidor*. He had no especial dislike for the law. He was simply “genially disinclined to it” (7).

His anonymous biographer who wrote the *Vida menor* which is prefixed to the 1633 edition of Góngora's *Obras* under the initials, A. A. L. S. M. P. (Anonymous, Amicus, Lubens, Scripsit, Mcerens, Posuit), (8) at least insinuates that the youthful Góngora was one of the hundred who might be found elsewhere than in their own rooms studying. Although the study of law did not appeal to him, the study of *letras humanas* did. “Among them all, Don Luis was known as the first, gazed at and admired as a Saul, for from his shoulders and upwards he was higher than any of that studious assembly” (9). This biographer goes on to say, however, “These were the sweet, but dangerous, years of his life: the merry grace-cups, which he drank to them [the Muses] in unfettered numbers, were sometimes so highly seasoned, as to be too strong for healthful

relish, like piquant sauce that burns in the mouth" (10).

As no collection of his works appeared in print until after his death, it is difficult to decide from the poems that have come down to us which, if any, were written at this time. Archdeacon Churton thought that the *romance* beginning *Tenemos vn Doctorando* was written at Salamanca and perhaps recited at the graduation of some doctor of divinity (11). On the other hand, Foulché-Delbosc, in his edition of Góngora's *Obras poéticas*, giving the dates ascribed to the poems in the Chacón manuscript, assigns to this particular *romance* the title, VEXAMEN QUE SE DIÓ EN GRANADA A VN SOBRINO DEL ADMINISTRADOR DEL HOSPITAL REAL QUE ES LA CASA DE LOS LOCOS, and the date 1611 (12).

Poetry

The earliest poems in this manuscript, which Góngora himself is reputed to have revised with the idea of publication, have the date 1580 and include the *canción* beginning, *Svene la trompa belica* (this ap-

peared in print in the same year); the *romances* beginning, *Ciego que apuntas* and *Los raios le quenta al Sol*; the *romancillos*, *La mas bella niña* and *Hermana Marica*. For the year 1581 it gives the *letrillas* beginning, *Que pide a vn galan Minguilla*, *Andeme io caliente*, and *Da bienes Fortuna*; the *romances*, *En el caudaloso río*, *Las redes sobre el arena*, and the *romancillo*, *Erase una vieja*. Many have thought that his best work was done before he entered the church. This would mean that it was, in all likelihood, composed while he was still a student at Salamanca. Foulché-Delbosc's edition, strengthened as it is with the Chacón dates and annotations, only confirms this theory. Certainly no one would deny that these few poems show his talent at its best. If they were not actually composed at Salamanca, they were written very shortly afterwards.

Sir John Bowring was the first to translate *La mas bella niña*, perhaps the best of these, into English (13).

SHORES OF THE SEA

"La mas bella niña".

*Shores
of the
Sea*

Sweet maiden! from our valley led
A widow lone—though lately wed;
Her eyes with tears were sad and sere,
And thus she bid her mother hear:

*Shores of the sea,
Leave grief to me.*

Why didst thou, mother! give to me
So young—short joy—long misery?
Why bind me in a wanderer's chain,
While I in lonely grief remain?

*Shores of the sea,
Leave woe to me.*

I look'd and look'd—till every glance
Was frozen on my countenance
To icy tears—O what a war
While lo! my peace is wandering far!

*Shores of the sea,
Leave grief to me.*

Let grief flow on—O check it not!
'Twere vain to check the gushing thought,

You love me—give no proof of hate—
'Twere better die—so desolate;
Shores of the sea,
Leave tears to me.

Sweet mother mine! what breast could bear
Unmoved, although of marble 'twere,
When watching thus, its youth's decay
So fading year by year away:

Shores of the sea,
Leave grief to me.

The nights may fly—for now is fled
The eye-light glancing o'er my bed;
The nights may go—for he is gone,
Who leaves me to my visions lone.

Shores of the sea,
Leave grief to me.

In this same year, 1580, Góngora left Salamanca. There is no evidence that he ever received any degree or won any academic honours from the University which now has placed his name, among its twelve most distinguished graduates in history and poetry, on a tablet in an antechamber of the library (14).

Departure
from uni-
versity

TODAS
LAS OBRAS
DE
DON LUIS DE GONGORA
EN VARIOS POEMAS.

RECOGIDOS POR DON GONZALO
de Hozes y Cordoua, natural de la
ciudad de Cordoua.

DIRIGIDAS A DON FRANCISCO
ANTONIO FERNANDEZ DE
CORDOVA, MARQUES DE
GUADALCAZAR, &c.



62.

CON PRIVILEGIO:

En Madrid en la Imprenta del Reyno. Año 1633.

A costa de Alonso Perez, Liberto de su Magestad.

TITLE-PAGE OF A RARE EDITION

He had early adopted his mother's name, Góngora. There are many conjectures as to the reasons. It was not an uncommon practice, especially in Andalucía, but he alone of his family did it. A sister, Francisca, who married Don Gonzalo de Saavedra, is mentioned in his letters as Doña Francisca de Argote (15). Another sister, Doña María Ponce de León by marrying, according to the manuscript notes of the genealogist, D. Andrés de Morales y Padilla, a member of the council (*veinticuatro*) of Córdoba, Don Juan de Argote (16) retained her family name. The niece, Doña Francisca de Argote, to whom Góngora dedicated a *romance* (17) therefore might have been the daughter of this sister rather than of his brother, who was also Juan de Argote.

In Góngora's *Obras*, published, to be sure, after his death, it is definitely stated that the comedy, *Las firmezas de Isabela*, begun by Don Luis was finished by his brother, *Don Juan de Argote*. He, as Archdeacon Churton, quoting from the compiler

Adoption of
mother's
name

Sisters

Brother-in-
law
Juan de
ArgoteBrother
Juan de
Argote

of the Turner MS. of the poet's works, said: ". . . never went by any other surname than that by which the poet called himself: his name was Don Juan de Gongora. But he was born in the Philippine Islands, never made a verse in his life, or listened to one; never knew that his brother Lewis was a poet, 'nor ever wasted, if wasted is the right word, one atom of his time in inquiring whether there were any poetry in the world, or Muses on Parnassus'" (18).

This is, at least, an interesting note, and it would be very satisfying to find the facts on which it was based. According to the records of the Cathedral at Córdoba, so constantly referred to a little later, several pieces of property were leased, at different times, to Don Luis de Góngora, for his lifetime, and for that of *su hermano, Don Juan de Argote*. In 1592, the latter was also appointed *veinticuatro*, filling the position made vacant by Don Fernando de Saavedra, count of *Castellar* (19). This identity of name and position could lead to the objection that one Juan de Argote has been

confused and separated into two distinct personages, but for the fact that the cathedral records have borne out Morales's statement by using both the words *hermano* and *cuñado*.

It seems fairly certain that Don Juan called himself Argote. His brother's unkind critics, and they have been many, say that he changed either because Góngora was more aristocratic or because it was better sounding to one who was fond of an antepenult accent—more sonorous. There is no gainsaying the latter argument. The late Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly in considering the former did not find that the Góngoras were of higher rank than the Argotes, and contemporary biographers say that Doña Leonor, the mother, was of family equal (*igual*) to Don Francisco's. In fact, the authority for Andalusian genealogy, *Gonçalo Argote de Molina*, writing in 1588, recorded that both families fought in 1212 against the Moors at Las Navas de Tolosa, as can be seen from the cross which the heads of these families, *Ruy Martinez de*

Rank of
respective
families

Uncle
Francisco
de Góngora

Generosity
of uncle

University
debts

Argote and *Ximeno de Gongora*, adopted for their escutcheons (20).

The late Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly's own theory seems as plausible, if not more plausible, than the others. Góngora's maternal uncle, the prebendary, Don Francisco de Góngora, who collected the youth's ecclesiastical revenues, advanced money to him both for his studies at Salamanca and for his traveling expenses. This gave Fitzmaurice-Kelly the idea that the nephew may have assumed his uncle's name in a spirit of gratitude, and an amount of gratitude was due this uncle, as the records show.

The young Luis probably did not consider himself extravagant, but at various times he received sums of money apparently more than sufficient for the needs of a student. Although, at one time, he received 1300 *ducados* (which was partly rent and partly a gift from his uncle) (21), nevertheless, when he left the University he was heavily in debt. As an aftermath, two years later, his father was called upon to supplement these sums, the heirs of the

Licentiate Aguilera demanding more than two thousand *ducados* for the sustenance which the said Aguilera had furnished the son and for which he had received no payment (22).

There is no portrait of Góngora at this time, nor until middle age, except the one which he traced (in 1587) in a humourous *romancillo*, beginning, *Hanme dicho, hermanas* (23). He says that certain young women wished to see the author of *Hermana Marica*, and as he had no portrait of himself to offer, he wrote this description. It is a long and rambling caricature, but it has some few facts interwoven.

Description
of himself
from
*Hanme
dicho,
hermanas*

He says that he is youthful in years, but old in misfortune; he is not large in stature, but, nevertheless, sufficiently tall. His head is very useful, with a forehead in front and a crown behind. He has large eyes of keen vision, since he can discern a hound among a hundred hens, an aquiline nose, and a mouth passably good at meal-time. His hair is neither long nor short. It was once chestnut colour, but now is

dark auburn. He is a man of wealth: with ships on the mountains and vineyards in the sea. He heard theology at Salamanca, also other things. Latin is as native to his tongue as Persian or Egyptian to the Germans. He speaks Italian so that all who hear him say that he was born in Coimbra. He knows that men take longer to go from La Mancha to Medina than do swallows. He knows, furthermore, that in the Alps snow is cold, but fire is hot in the Philippines. On the whole, he is a youth with much gaiety, although for this possession he pays a heavy tribute to Melancholy.

The humour which makes this and other similar poems attractive, becomes less and less evident in his later *romances burlescos*. The portraits which do remain of him, painted in middle and later life, supplement this sketch. They, however, show no traces of humour and leave little doubt that the tribute to Melancholy, if heavy in youth, grew no less heavy with increasing years.



OBRAS
EN VERSO
DEL HOMERO ESPAÑOL,
que recogio Juan Lopez de
Vicuña.

AL ILVSTRIS.^{MO} Y REVEREND.^{MO}
Señor don Antonio Zapata, Cardenal de la Santa
Iglesia de Roma, Inquisidor general en todos los
Reynos de Espana, y del Consejo de Estado
del Rey nuestro señor.



CON PRIVILEGIO:

En Madrid, Por la viuda de Luis Sanchez,
Impressora del Reyno.

Año M. DC. XXVII.

A costa de Alonso Perez, mercader de llibres.

TITLE-PAGE OF FIRST PRINTED
EDITION OF GONGORA'S
COLLECTED WORKS

II

COME, WANDERING SHEEP,
O COME!

“Oveja perdida, ven”.

*Come, wandering sheep, O come!
I'll bind thee to my breast,
I'll bear thee to thy home,
And lay thee down to rest.*

*I saw thee stray forlorn,
And heard thee faintly cry,
And on the tree of scorn,
For thee I deign'd to die—
What greater proof could I
Give,—than to seek the tomb?
Come, wandering sheep, O come!*

*I shield thee from alarms,
And wilt thou not be blest?
I bear thee in my arms.
Thou bear me in thy breast!
O this is love—come, rest—
This is a blissful doom.
Come, wandering sheep, O come!*
(24).

When Góngora left the University, in 1580, his inclinations were quite evidently towards a literary life. He had been known at Salamanca as a youth with a skillful and

Enters
church

often sharp pen. However, it was necessary to choose a means of livelihood. A career in the legal world was not open to him, and the life of a poet was very precarious, even if writing for publication and consequently for sale had been altogether consistent with his dignity as a Spanish gentleman.

The Church, which had in the past been the refuge of scholars, students, and poets, still welcomed them. His uncle, Don Francisco de Góngora y Falcés, who held a stall in the Cathedral at Córdoba had not fared badly. The nephew was already a "bit of a pluralist" (25) having held the benefices of Cañete de los Torres, Guadalmazán, and Santaella (26) for several years. He had attended lectures on theology at Salamanca, perhaps with the idea of succeeding to his uncle's position. Don Francisco had held it since 1558, twenty-seven years, and was ready to resign in his nephew's favour. This he did in February 1585 (27). That it was not an uncommon practice to renounce these benefices for relatives or friends can be seen by Góngora's resigna-

tion in favour of his own nephew. By virtue of such tolerance, the deanship of this church was held for whole centuries by a family named Córdoba (28).

Except for the facts which the Canon Don Manuel González y Francés has collected from the Chapter records of the Cathedral at Córdoba, few details are known of the twenty or thirty years which follow the Salamancan days. Several of Góngora's poems apparently fit certain of these events and give a slight semblance of life to the dry statements of the records.

When the bishop, Francisco Pacheco, made his annual visit to Córdoba, in 1589, Góngora was called upon to answer charges against his conduct. He was accused of being frequently absent from church and of apparently giving only lip service when present; of being restless and inattentive; of attending bullfights; of gossiping; of frequenting the society of actors; and of writing profane (secular) verse, having contributed in the previous year, several poems to Villalta's *Flor de varios, y nuevos Romances*.

Episcopal inquiry

The documents of this inquiry, found in the Episcopal Library at Córdoba, have been published by this same Canon Don Manuel González y Francés (29).

Charges

"Charges which the Very Reverend Bishop of the Diocese, prefers against Don Luis de Góngora.

"I. The prebendary Góngora rarely attends to his duties in the Choir of the Cathedral and when it is his turn to read the Hours, he moves constantly from one position to another, frequently leaving his place.

"II. He converses a great deal during Divine Hours.

"III. He takes part in the gossip of the *Arco de Bendiciones* where the life of neighbours is often discussed.

"IV. He has attended bullfights at the *Plaza de la Corredora*, against the express orders given to the clergy, *motu proprio*, by His Holiness.

"V. Lastly, he lives in a very youthful manner, giving himself up, both day and

night, to unimportant affairs, conversing with actors and composing profane verse."

Góngora's replies to these charges show neither great seriousness nor deep penitence.

On the first point, he said that he attended oftener than many others, and that he left his place only when necessary.

On the second he said, "I have always been as quiet as anyone during the Hours, and even if I did not myself wish to observe the silence which is imposed on me, I have on one side a deaf man and on the other, one who never stops singing, and thus I must, perforce, keep silence, for there is no one to answer me."

To the third and fourth, he said that he had observed others, higher up than he, at the same places.

To the fifth and last charge, he answered more indignantly, "My life is not so scandalous, nor am I so old that I ought to be censured for living as a young man. My conversations with actors, and with other persons of like manner of living, have taken

Answers

place in my own house, whither these people have come openly as they go to other honourable and respectable houses. And if they come to me too often, it is because I am very fond of music. If it is true that in versifying I have permitted myself some liberties, I have not gone so far that I am open to reproach. The greater part of the *letrillas* which have been attributed to me, I have not written. Your Reverence can easily ascertain that by an inquiry. And if my poetry is not as sacred as it should be, my knowledge of theology is at fault, for it is so weak that I considered it better to be condemned for frivolity than for heresy."

This last charge, with respect to his verses, seems to have been the one which affected him most keenly. Fitzmaurice-Kelly says, ". . . Góngora was not distinguished during this phase by any narrow prudery", but that was not the age, in any literature, for narrow prudery, even among the clergy. Two of the poems which have been especially condemned as

not being consistent with his priestly dignity, *Tu noche que aliuias* and *No viene a mi, sobrescritos* (30), are now considered spurious. These may be the verses he referred to as having been wrongly ascribed to him. It seems more plausible that the Church was chiefly concerned with the Moorish ballads which he had recently published in Villalta's collection. It is not surprising that Góngora, reared in Córdoba, had imbibed a great deal of Moorish atmosphere and a great many of the legends of these unhappy people, nor is it surprising that he sympathized somewhat with their banishment from the land they had adopted and made to blossom as the rose. But the Church, looking forward to its final conquest over them, could not be expected to approve such poems and would feel it incumbent upon itself to censure a member of its clergy who was rash enough to put them into print.

His evasions saved him, however, or else his answers satisfied the Bishop that his sins were not very reprehensible, for his sen-

Promotions

tence, given on August 29th (31), was that he must observe all statutes, abstain from bullfights, and pay four *ducados* to Charity. Nor did it affect his promotions, as during these first years he seems to have advanced rapidly. In his very first year he was made chief of the rentals. The Dean and the members of the whole Chapter apparently liked him, as throughout the record are notices to the effect that the Chapter, in secret ballot, elected Don Luis de Góngora to this or that mission. He was active, careful, and prompt, and was constantly chosen "for all business referring to the dignity, honour, defense, representation, administration, and organic functions of the capitular body" (32).

Góngora's uncle, Don Francisco de Góngora, died in 1586, and his mother in 1587.

Embassies

He was frequently sent to other cities, Madrid (where he was ill in 1590), San Pablo, Granada (which delighted him), Salamanca, and Toledo (where he probably knew and visited the painter, El Greco). In June 1593, he and the Canon, Don

Alonso Venegas de Cañaveral, with whom he is constantly mentioned, were chosen to go to Salamanca on an embassy to the Bishop of Salamanca, Don Hieronymo Manrique y Aguayo, bishop elect of Córdoba. On this journey they were to receive their usual salary and were to be allowed twenty-six days for the trip. While there, Góngora suffered a strange illness in the palace of the Bishop. He lay unconscious for three days, until all lost hope of his recovery. On August 30th, Don Alonso alone reported to the Chapter, Don Luis being too ill to return. Not until November 26th did he return from Salamanca, because of the serious risk to his life of the long journey. Two of his sonnets, beginning *Muerto me lloró* and *Huesped sacro*, refer to this illness, which some persons consider to have left him mentally unbalanced. One of these sonnets is dedicated to the Bishop and both have been translated by Archdeacon Churton (33), who in 1862 published a two-volume work on the poet and his period, with translations.

Illness at
Salamanca

Sonnets
referring
to illness

Aldrete

The young cleric, however, did not always treat of matters to bishops-elect. In 1597, he and the Canon Alderete (who later wrote *Del origen de la lengua castellana*) were appointed to choose the most appropriate cloth for six capes to be worn at the chief feast days and to see that they were made quickly. In 1598 he was made *adjunto*, thus receiving the highest honour a Chapter could bestow on one of its members. The duties were to assist the bishop in judging all criminal cases among the capitular members of the diocese. In the next year, when the Cathedral divided its members into two groups, Góngora was placed among the deacons. In 1600, he was made auditor by drawing of lots; and, by secret ballot, keeper of the treasury. In 1603, of three candidates, he was chosen to examine the *limpieza*, or purity from any taint of heretical blood, be it Mohammedan or Jewish, of the Licentiate Pedro Zamora, a candidate for a prebend. Góngora was instructed to go to Cuenca and was allowed fifty days for the work with a stipend of

Cuenca

three *ducados* a day. At this time he wrote *Erase en Cuenca* and *En los pinares*. These have been rendered into English by Archdeacon Churton (34), whose translations Ticknor, having little admiration for Góngora, considered to be oftentimes better than the originals.

THE HIGHLAND MAIDS OF CUENCA

In Jucar's pinewood alleys,
Where Jucar's floods are thrown
Deep down the mountain-valleys
O'er sounding beds of stone,
I saw the highland-daughters
Troop forth to dance and play
To music of bright waters,
And winds that swept the spray:
Fair as the fabled wan ones,
That dwell in haunted flood,
Or Huntress Queen's companions,
That range the wild green wood.
But these were Cuenca's daughters;
By Cuenca's mountain-seat
Proud were the mingling waters

To kiss their fairy feet.
And oh! with what fresh gladness
Their fair young hands they twined,
Fast friends, unvex'd by sadness,
Or fears of change unkind.
They came, their stores to gather
Of pine-cones from the spray,
With freedom and fair weather
To light them on their way,
Where through dark branches straying
Came gleams from sunny skies,
As though blind Love were playing
With Day's ten thousand eyes.
Dance on, ye highland-daughters,
In youth and joy, as now,
To music of the waters,
Beneath the pinewood-bough.

Their flower-inwoven tresses,
That with the breezes play'd,
Or held with silver laces,
As art had twined the braid,
In auburn ringlets waving,
Were glorious to behold,
The sunny rays outbraving,
Of rich Arabia's gold.

Their flowing skirts around them,
And boddice green or blue,
With Hope's gay cincture bound them,
Or Heaven's own sapphire hue:
And ever in their dancing,
By glimpses high or low,
Some pearly foot was glancing
More white than driven snow.
Then one with lily fingers
Her castanets would try;
Her voice was like the Singers
Of dewy Castaly;
It charm'd each feather'd chorist
That sings in wild green wood,
It still'd the waving forest,
And stay'd the falling flood.
Still through dark branches straying
Glance gleams from sunny skies,
As though blind Love were playing
With Day's ten thousand eyes;
And dance, ye highland-daughters,
With joy and song, as now,
To music of the waters,
Beneath the pinewood-bough.

G O N G O R A

Ordination	There is no mention of Góngora's ordination as priest (35), but in 1604 he sang the Gospels at a mass for the burial of a sister of the Prebendaries Mesa. After this time he was elected and re-elected to positions having to do with the Church finances.
Poor health	Although there are references to his poor health, it is hardly to be considered, as Fitzmaurice-Kelly has pointed out, that the Cathedral would have placed a man mentally unstable in charge of its revenues.
Theory of insanity	In 1605 he was at the court, in Valladolid, assisting in the festivities arranged for the English envoys. In 1609 he was sent into the north of Spain to examine further into the <i>limpieza</i> of Don Diego Pardo. He visited Pontevedra and Monforte in Galicia, which was little to his liking with its "mountains rude" and inhabitants much resembling their native mountains and with
Journey to Galicia	Ye log-built inns, so dim and dark, Lodgings of beasts, like Noah's ark, Whence, answering to the traveller's knocks, Looks out, for host, a bellowing ox (36).

H I S P A N I C N O T E S



HOUSE OF GONGORA AT CORDOBA

He also went to Salvatierra near Vitoria and to Burgos.

At Córdoba, in 1610, he convalesced for two months in one of the houses which Juan de Mora had bequeathed to the Church. These houses were on the *Plazuela de la Trinidad* with doors also on a small alley leading from the *Calle de Valladares*. Henceforth he seems to have considered this his home (37). In the next year, his nephew, Luis de Saavedra y Góngora, became his coadjutor with the idea of succeeding to the prebend. In 1612, the year Góngora was appointed chaplain to Philip the Third, the house on the *Plazuela de la Trinidad* was leased to him and his nephew for the term of their lives at 3759 *maravedís* and 37 1/2 pairs of fowl yearly.

After the time when the nephew took over his uncle's duties in the church, it is impossible to tell when Don Luis de Góngora was present. However, 1610 to 1611 were his last active years at Córdoba. He seems to have given up his prebend much as his uncle had done before him. In 1616,

House on
the *Plazuela*
de la
Trinidad

Nephew

a farm which had been leased to Góngora and his nephew, Don Luis de Saavedra, was re-leased to Don Luis de Saavedra, for his lifetime and for that of his nephew, Don Gonzalo Saavedra.

In the year following occurred the death of Don Juan de Argote, *su cuñado*.

Celibacy

Góngora had not married. His anonymous biographer said that his love songs, to Glauca and Chloris, were simply exercises—exercises of the fancy, perhaps, rather than of composition. Churton thought that he might have been interested in a Louisa de Cardona, who became a nun and died at an early age (38), and that later he was attracted by Catharine de la Cerda, a lady-in-waiting to Queen Margaret.

Cordovan
legend of
quarrel

There is a legend in Córdoba that he paid court for a long time to a lady who, after accepting his advances, suddenly and ruthlessly discarded him and married Don Rodrigo Vargas. Don Luis and Don Pedro de Angulo, his cousin, attempted to abduct the lady, but were unsuccessful. They were

challenged to a duel by Don Rodrigo, the enraged husband, and Pedro de Hoces, señor de la Albaida. As right makes might in legends, Góngora and his cousin were both wounded. Góngora although a skillful swordsman (fencing having been one of his interests at Salamanca), suffered an especially severe wound in the head. Thereupon he left Córdoba and went to Madrid (39).

There can be little doubt that there was a quarrel of some kind. Another account connected with this same affair is taken from a not entirely reliable manuscript. It is too finely balanced in its justice to be absolute fact, but it supplements the other legend and is as follows:

" 'D. Luis de Gongora, the famous poet' and his first cousin, D. Pedro de Angulo, met D. Rodrigo de Vargas and D. Pedro de Hoces, Señor de la Albaida, and quarreled over some words. As a result Gongora and Angulo were wounded, the latter very seriously. The offenders took refuge in the

Legend
of days
in tomb

Company and, those of justice taking a vow to find them, not a monastery remained unsearched. They pushed to an extreme the inquiries in the Company, in one of whose vaults, already searched in vain, the fathers hid them, closing down the slab. 'There they remained more than thirty days, with only a lighted taper...reading the lives of the saints, perforce, until their wounds healed and they had concocted a good explanation for the affair' " (40).

However much fact or fancy there may be in these legends, the Chapter records give evidence for supposing that he was anxious to advance in the Church, an explanation for his not having married. He may have wished to remain untrammeled by a family so that he could quickly grasp any opportunity which offered itself—and none came.

Discouragement

His years of faithful service had been rewarded by nothing more than a priesthood, which Lope de Vega, profligate though he was, won in a few months (41). Discouraged

and disillusioned as to any advancement at Córdoba, Góngora turned to his patron, the Duke of Lerma, who obtained for him a chaplaincy at the Court of Philip the Third.

The work which had lain nearest his heart, the verse which he had written, re-written, and again written to make perfect, had failed to bring him the honour he considered his due. Lope de Vega and Cervantes, with (to his mind, probably) no greater genius and with less erudition, had become famous. He had already experimented slightly with the new form of poetry introduced from Italy by a young soldier, Don Luis de Carrillo y Sotomayor, who had returned to Spain to die an early death, but not before he had written his *Book of poetic erudition*. Góngora, a townsman and friend, was particularly interested in the theory expounded in this treatise and peculiarly fitted to adopt it for himself. This *new poetry* was the antithesis of his own simple, direct style, but it appeared to him as a golden key.

*New poetry
of Carrillo*

Royal chaplaincy

At the age of fifty-one, already in poor health, he ended the tranquil, scholarly life at Córdoba and began a new one in Madrid, with the high hope that, at last, he had it in his power to make his genius properly recognized.





TITLE-PAGE OF FIRST PRINTED
EDITION OF THE FABULA IN
GONGORA'S NEW STYLE

III

PRIMERO

*I play'd with Time upon a rising ground
The spring-game of Primero. Hands
were shewn;
And at the third card dealt to me I found
The trump of price, whose worth was
twenty-one.
Age now held stakes for me: the score
went on
To forty-five. Ambition then drew nigh;
The sharper bade me wear, as though I'd
won,
Her tinsel crown, in sign of victory.
What next? One deal was lost; my hope less
high;
'What if old Time' methought, 'should
play
With heavy power against me?' Age
look'd shy,
More pale her mien, and changed her care-
worn face.
Yest' Time and Age had tricks I could not
see,
Old gamesters both! Life's game was lost
with me (42).*

It must be admitted that Góngora was fond of the society of persons of rank and position and that he went out of his way to bring himself favourably to their attention.

Regard
for
persons
of rank

HISPANIC NOTES

He wrote sonnets, on the slightest pretexts, to titled persons, to cardinals, dukes, princes, kings. It may be possible that his missions to and from different ecclesiastics during his years at Córdoba did not come to him without some little effort on his part.

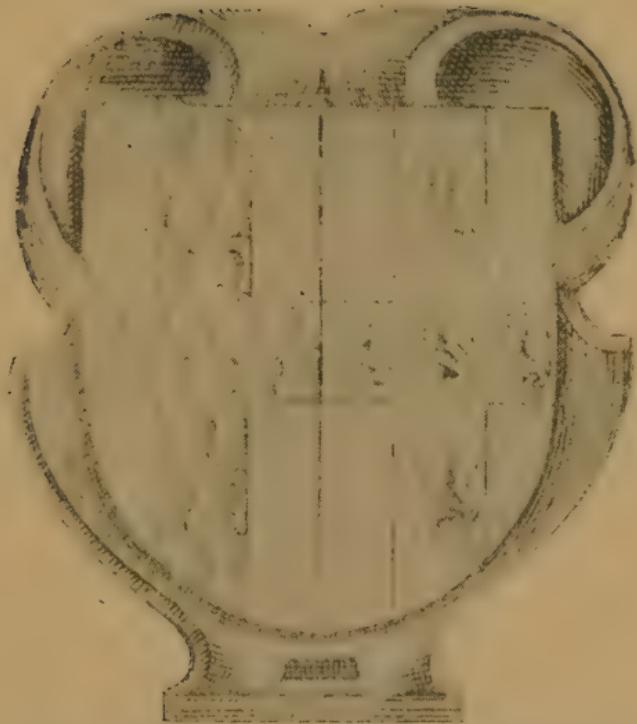
He had jeered at Lope de Vega because he had adopted the Carpio nineteen-castled shield without a clear title to it, but there is at least a suspicion that he himself had not adopted his mother's name without a little thought of her connection with the Lords of Magaña in the province of Jaén and with the Dukes of Almódavar.

Visits
to court

It is known that he visited the court as early as 1605, when he helped in organizing the fêtes in honour of the peace celebrated between England and Spain as well as in honour of the baptism of the young prince who was to become Philip the Fourth.

Dislike for
Valladolid

That he disliked Valladolid, a "Vale of Tears", is attested to by several sonnets (43). His efforts at advancement through the court were unavailing. That there may be no doubt of his having made them, he has



*Per pale: Argote: gules a cross vair ancient; Góngora:
argent on a cross gules five lioncels rampant or.*



left the sonnets beginning *El Conde, mi señor*. These record his disappointment at being excluded from the retinue of literary men which the Count of Lemos took with him to Naples. Better fortune awaited him, however, when he dedicated his *Panegyrico* to the all-powerful Duke of Lerma (44). This was the first work written in his "new style". The Duke who had done so much for the Church and clergy during his long career as Philip's confidential adviser and minister was not unwilling to recognize a man introducing a new kind of poetry. In 1612, he secured for Góngora the position as chaplain to the King. This position was probably merely honorary and carried with it no recompense, or at least very little. Nevertheless, it gave Góngora an excuse for going to Madrid, where the literary circles were larger and more influential than at Córdoba. It also gave him an excuse for staying there without appearing to seek favour.

Archdeacon Churton (45) quoted again from the compiler of the Turner Manuscript

Patronage
of the
Duke of
Lerma

Quotation
from
Turner MS.

who said: “ ‘Don Lewis went frequently to Madrid for no other reason, than that the Court was the common centre for distinguished persons in every pursuit or occupation, as he used to speak of it: “Here I find motives to work, and leave that indolent leisure which Cordova rather too much encourages.” And he did so at the instance of many Grandees, Ministers of State, and even Royal Favourites, Patrons of good Literature; and, in particular, the Count of Villamediana, who did not desist, till he sent him a litter, in which he might perform the journey. And that he might not seem to attend on the Court by chance, he accepted the grace that was offered him with the title of Chaplain of Honour. He also procured, on occasions when they fell vacant, two Military Habits, which he sent to his two cousins: these are honours, with which our kings distinguish our Nobility. They gave him also more than four hundred ducats of yearly rent in a pension imposed on the Episcopal revenues of his native town. All this he was so slow in

soliciting, that it may be said to have come without asking to his hands, the Royal Favourite, when he gave them, complaining of his silence. It is certain that neither ambition nor desire of gain drew him to Court, since in his own house he had an accomplice of rent free from encumbrance, an income quite sufficient for one who wore a priest's bonnet. So that those mysterious, intricate, and confused statements, even worse than obscure, because the obscurity is studied, with a wretched waste of time, contained in the Life of the Poet, neither have any foundation in fact, nor is it easy to imagine how they could have any.' "

Góngora was unfortunate in having contemporary biographers who were partisans. There was no middle ground. He was condemned with such opprobrious vituperation or exalted with such undiscriminating praise that it is difficult to disentangle even the approximate truth. Pellicer, the voluminous writer and quasi-scholar, in particular lauded him, saying that he was gentle, cour-

Pellicer's
description

teous, and quiet, with a modesty commensurate with his genius, which was such as to make him loved and sought after by the men whose opinions were of value. We might have suspicions as to the veracity of these statements from reading Góngora's miscellaneous poems, but the evidence given by those he called *burlescos*, by his contemporaries and finally even by his portraits makes us feel that Pellicer, on this point, may be one of those men whose opinion is of no great value.

Lope de Vega appears to have understood him better than any one else. He, at least, could hold to reason when he spoke of the poet who has been an enigma during so many years. Apparently they met about 1593. Lope's picture of Góngora's life in Córdoba is very pleasing.

"This genius of this gentleman, and I have known him now more than twenty-eight years, is, in my opinion (disregarding that of others), one of the rarest and most diverse which I have known from that province, and it is such that I do not find

Lope de
Vega at
Córdoba

that of Seneca or Lucan, both born there, different or more glorious. Pedro Liñan de Riaza, one of his contemporaries at Salamanca, has told me a great deal of his studiousness which is such that of him it can be said, *Non indoctus parifacundia & ingenio praeditus*. I fell under the charm of his personality, and it was only strengthened by an interview with him and by his conversation. When I went to Andalucía, it seemed to me that he always favoured and held me in higher esteem than my ignorance deserved. At that time there met together, of those interested in that kind of writing, a number of noteworthy men, who deserved this name as anyone who has any knowledge of their work will know. There were Pedro Laynez, the Excelentissimo Señor Marqués de Tarifa, Hernando de Herrera, Galvez Montalvo, Pedro de Men-doça, Marco Antonio de la Vega, Doctor Garay, Vicente Espinel, Liñan de Riaza, Pedro Padilla, Don Luys de Vargas Manrique, both Lupercios, and others among whom this gentleman has made for him-

self such a great place that Fame has said the same of him as the oracle did of Socrates" (46).

The long peaceful years spent in the quiet and friendly atmosphere of Córdoba had not fitted Góngora to become a courtier in the Madrid of Philip the Third. The man who had lived fifty years in the city where the meditative tranquillity inherited from the reticent East is impressed on even the casual traveler could not fail to react strongly to such stimuli as the court of Spain presented. The plasticity which made Lope de Vega the profligate he was and to which his popularity was so largely due was not one of Góngora's vices—or virtues. He could not easily adjust himself to the conditions at Madrid. He could see matters in too clear a light. The political and social structure of the nation, as well as of the court, would cause a smouldering resentment, if not a flaming anger, in any person with a sense of the difference between right and wrong. Truth came very readily to the lips of Góngora, the

Harassment
at court

Cordovan priest, except with his superiors
or with those whose good graces he craved.
He expressed his scorn of "Men and Things
at Court" (47) not uncertainly in this bitter
sonnet:

Grandeas as sleek as elephants of Siam,
Broad as the sow-rhinoceros, firm
as flint,
And just as bounteous, liberal with-
out stint
Of gracious words,—further you need
not try 'em:
Fine clothes from dealers' shops that
mend and dye 'em:
Young faces bold and bare, old
crones in lawn:
Coaches of eight, to draw, or to be
drawn,—
Including cattle bought, and beasts
that buy 'em:
Poor briefless pleaders, souls that
dwell in pain,
While buff and boots make laws, and
judge them too,

*Men and
Things
at
Court*

Right's doubtful scale with sword
or dagger striking;
Close homes and hearts, whose god-
liness is gain:
Blank whit'd walls, with tithe of mint
and rue:—
This is the Court: I hope 'tis to your
liking.

Góngora was descended from too many generations of proud Andalusian race for flattery to come easily. Courtesy and charm might be as natural to him as his very breath, but when he flattered, the machinery creaked; and flattery—skillful flattery—and dissemblings, and pleasant conceits, were necessary for success. Góngora, the austere, was too old to learn the habit. The effort, together with the uncertainty of the favour of his patrons, and the strain of creating a new poetry were too great. Something had to give way before it. His temper had never been gentle, notwithstanding Pellicer to the contrary; age and ill health had not improved it. At Madrid his tongue became venomous.

Constantly flicked by slights, real or imaginary, and by the success of others, he chose Lope de Vega as the particular target for his abuse. The easy-going Lope had not needed to learn any lesson from the court in the gentle art of subtle flattery. It is therefore difficult to tell what he really thought of Don Luis. Fitzmaurice-Kelly and Rennert are of the opinion that he was in mortal terror of Góngora's pen; it may be, but an impression remains that although he was opposed to the New Poetry, he had a true regard and understanding of the "Andalusian giant", and was constantly deferring to him not as man of assured fame to one of lesser fame, but as a man of genius paying respect to another of as great or even greater genius. It is possible that Góngora suspected Lope's sincerity, or it may be that he was jealous of his man-of-the-world attitude as well as of his successes. Although Góngora wished to be a poet for the chosen few, there can be little doubt that he, the ascetic, with his slowly written, carefully polished verse was

Tilting
with
Lope
de
Vega

Boscán,
tarde
llegamos

Letter of
Lope de
Vega

envious of the fame of Lope, the all-conquering, with his amazingly rapid achievements.

It is true that Lope dedicated the play, *Amor secreto* (48), to Góngora and that he addressed polite compliments to him both in person and in print, but it is also true that he circulated anonymous manuscript poems ridiculing *culturismo*. In one of these (49), Boscán and Garcilaso return to Castilla and knock at the door of an inn asking for a night's lodging. But lo! since they had left Castilla the language had changed to such an extent that they could not understand the servant's replies and they decided that they must have wandered into Vizcaya where only Basque is spoken. In a letter is again much the same idea:

"I saw a sonnet by Don Luis [de Góngora]; it pleased me: he writes now in the Castilian tongue, for they say it [the Castilian tongue] appeared to him one night clothed in patches of divers colours, and said to him: "Man of Córdoba, behold my condition on your account; with straying

QUATRO COMEDIAS
FAMOSAS DE DON LUIS DE
Gongora, y Lope de Vega Carpio, reco-
piladas por Antonio Sanchez.

DIRIGIDAS A DON IVAN AN-
TONIO HURTADO DE MENDOZA, MARQUES DE EDHEC, SEÑOR
de las villas de Arguedas, Molon, etc.,

LUGO, 1617.
AÑO III.



CON LICENCIA:
En Madrid, por L.S. Año 1617.

A costa de Juan Berrillo.

TITLE-PAGE OF QUATRO COMEDIAS

feet, with deceptive countenance, with sparkling eyes and ministering hands, wearing motley and talking gibberish. Restore to me the simplicity of Herrera and Garcilaso." As the result of which wonderful vision he speaks our language now, but they say it is late. . . ." (50).

Góngora retorted upon occasion skillfully, as in *Contra los que dixerón mal de las Soledades*, in the play on the names Garcilaso de la Vega and Lope de Vega (51); often harshly as in the much quoted sonnet beginning *Patos de la aguachirle Castellana* (52):

Dear Geese, whose haunt is where
weak waters flow
From rude Castilian well-head, cheap
supply,
That keeps your flowery Vega never
dry,
True Vega, smooth, but somewhat
flat and low:
Go, dabble, play, and cackle as ye go
Down that old stream of gray anti-
quity;

And blame the waves of nobler harmony,
Where birds, whose gentle grace you cannot know,
Are sailing, Attic wit and Roman skill
Are theirs; no swans that die in feeble song,
But nursed to life by Heliconian rill,
Where Wisdom breathes in Music.
Cease your wrong,
Flock of the troubled pool: your vain endeavour
Will doom you else to duck and dive for ever.

The sonnet in which he derided Lope's use of the nineteen-castled shield ends brutally with:

No fabrique mas torres sobre arena,
Sino es que ya segunda vez casado
Nos quiere hacer torres los tor-
reznos . . .

Lope had married a second wife, Juana de Guardo, the daughter of a wealthy pork dealer (53). Góngora was not alone in writing

virulent satires on Lope's private life, but certainly nothing Lope had said about him could have excused them, even under the standards of those days.

The Duke of Lerma, Góngora's patron, fell from power in 1618, through the efforts of his own son, the Duke of Uceda. Rodrigo Calderón, Marquis of *Siete Iglesias*, Lerma's favourite, who had also been kindly disposed towards the poet if not actually his personal friend, as appears possible, lay in prison for years. Deprived of the support of these men, Góngora left Madrid, as seems certain from the sonnet *No mas moralidades de corrientes*. This appears to state quite definitely that he received aid, in the form of a small ecclesiastical position at Toledo, from Archbishop Sandoval for whom he had written *The Vision of St. Ildefonso*. Within a few months, he was deprived of this friend and patron through death. It is probable that at some time previous to the beginning of the year 1620 Góngora was forced to return to Córdoba.

Fall of
Lerma
and
Calderón

Death of
Philip

Philip the Third, overwhelmed with remorse and in fear of eternal punishment, died in 1621. His decease banished Lerma forever from court and was the death warrant for Calderón. Be it to Góngora's credit that he remained loyal to the unfortunate Calderón, even at the time of his execution, when the poet's own position (or at least his means of livelihood) was very precarious, and wrote the following sonnet:

THE FALL

The bloudy trunk of him who did
possesse
Above the rest a haplesse happy
state,
This little Stone doth Seale, but not
depresso,
And scarce can stop the rowling of
his fate.

Brasse Tombes which justice hath
deny'd t'his fault.
The common pity to his vertues
payes,

H I S P A N I C N O T E S

Adorning on Imaginary vault,
Which from our minds time strives
in vain to raze.

Ten yeares the world upon him falsly
smild,
Sheathing in fawning lookes the
deadly knife
Long aymed at his head; That so
beguild
It more securely might bereave his
Life;

Then threw him to a Scaffold from a
Throne.

*Much Doctrine lyes under this little
Stone* (54).

Góngora relied, not unsuccessfully, on the young king's love of the arts, particularly of poetry and drama. Olivares, the dictator, was not unfriendly, giving habits of Santiago to the poet's two nephews besides promises of bettering Góngora's own position. As to the longed-for pension, Góngora gave this account, somewhat later, in a letter dated October 14th, 1625:

*Conde-
Duque's
patronage*

Promises

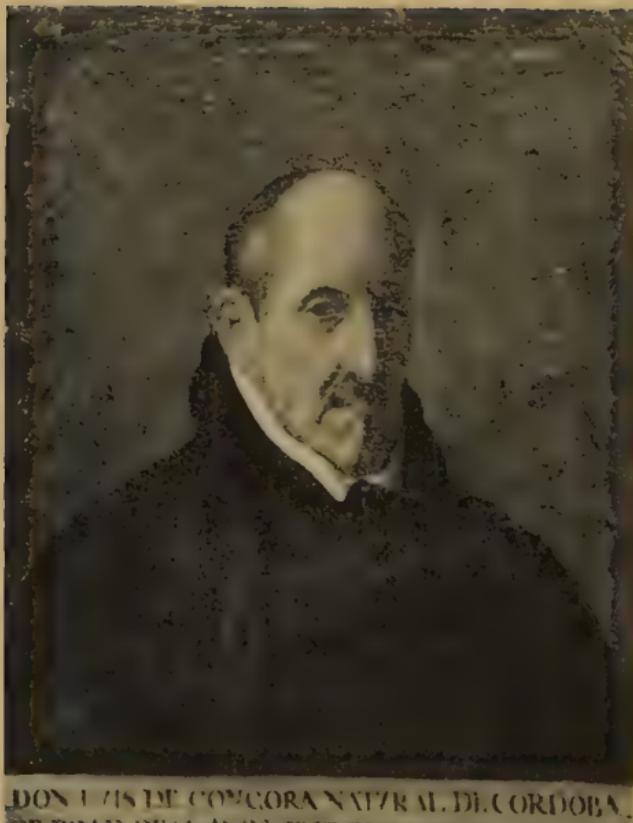
Chacón MS.

Aranjuez

"Yesterday morning he [the Count-Duke], with his foot in the stirrup, said to me, 'You are not desirous of publishing.' I answered him, 'The pension could hasten that.' He responded, 'I have already said that it runs from the 19th of February; on my return we will discuss it fully. Do not be anxious.' This leaves me in suspense because I see that he, without doubt, wants the habit to serve as a payment for the publication of my scribblings . . ." (55). In spite of these promises the pension does not seem to have been forthcoming. The Chacón manuscript of the poet's works, edited under his own supervision, and with his own annotations, was dedicated, possibly at his suggestion, to the Count-Duke.

There is no mention of Góngora's return to Madrid, but his letters throughout 1620 and 1621 are dated from there, and in the spring of 1622 we find him at Aranjuez taking part in the festivities in honour of Philip the Fourth's seventeenth birthday.





DON LUIS DE CORDERO NAJERA, DE CORDOBA,
DE EDAD DE 61 AÑOS FUE RETRATADO EN 1624.

UNSIGNED COPY OF THE
PRADO PORTRAIT

It is known that in this same spring the young Andalusian painter, Velázquez, then on his first visit to Madrid, was commissioned by his father-in-law, Francisco Pacheco, to paint a portrait of the famous Góngora (56). For years this portrait was considered to be the one hanging in the Prado. There is now some doubt, as certain critics have attributed it to Zurbarán—among others. El Greco may also have painted a portrait, and there is a sonnet to a Flemish artist who had stolen his likeness. Much discussion has been raised over the authenticity and whereabouts of these paintings. Pellicer, to whom is so largely due the little information we have of Don Luis, left us this verbal description which tallies with the known portraits, be they by Andalusian, Greek, or Fleming:

"Don Luis was of medium stature, neither tall nor short, his face was hawk-like, his forehead high, and this height was increased by baldness; he had large eyes, a nose curved and thin; he was of some-

Portraits

Personal appearance

Friends

what swarthy colouring, with a trim (*deciente*) beard. He was in his whole appearance a notable man" (57).

The indefatigable Peilicer also is responsible for showing us a picture of Góngora as the master and mentor of the innermost literary circle of the court, counting among his friends and admirers such persons as Francisco de Córdoba, Hortensio Paravicino, the Count of Villamediana, Diego de Colmenares, the Duke of Sesa, and even the great Cervantes himself.

Financial difficulties

A reverse side which shows Góngora's financial worries and difficulties is given in the letters published by Señor Linares García. The one translated below was written in 1623 only a few months before another return to Córdoba and is addressed to the Licentiate Cristóbal de Heredia. If more proof is needed as to his pecuniary embarrassments one may read his will, which is only a prolonged statement to pay to this or that man so many hundred *reales*, "that being the sum he has lent me" (58).



Dejé casa de elz Marques de Liria mura es
crios. Saliendo sobre av. m^o como no av
rido por culpa de voluntad, sin darse cuenta
el silencio freguencioso y exaltado que pa-
sabat. ayer tan delicado sin duda de tanto
que al bajarlos a atar una cinta al capa-
to leímos sentimiento un sueño de elcepcion
ca, y como lo fui? esa lana e xresas! algo
dieron el vacío, y aun temí no lo creyeron de
yo Poco, sijesen un resplandor tal vez
salgo in bendito sea dios, y viene acosta de el
8º son de a saber de sus F^{as} el estato f^{an}ieron
lo permitir, vi fumando por su confesio-
nidad, a suspendido el continuar en ellos, que
de oy muy apetecido soy diligencias con cierta
m^o de elz Anfiz q es lo mas factible, y
le dijese para mi mejor. q qdri a qdri. a don
Angelini Jose. e entendido q qdri qdri bien
el caballo, y qdri qdri la otra. desculpe m^o
v. m^o con el 8º don p^o qdri qdri. y a qdri
Madrid y febrero 14. de 18.23 p.
D. Luis de Gongora

FACSIMILE OF LETTER BY GONGORA
From *Cartas*. Granada, 1892.

“TO CHRISTOUAL DE HEREDIA

“Your Honour closed the door on me so definitely in the next to the last letter which I received from you that I have postponed its answer so as not to tire you with the reasons which I have repeated so many times, but Your Grace does not have to read them in order to be convinced of my troubles. *Now, Sir, I take my pen rather than the halter which would end all and would free you from my sorrows.* With it, I beg Your Honour to consider that with 800 *reales* I cannot pay household expenses, nor buy clothes for myself and two men-servants, support two maids as trustworthy as María Rodríguez, and maintain a carriage in which to ride. *If Your Honour should find, among the most economical and prudent, any arithmetical solution for my problem, I will kiss the rod in complete humility.* Presupposing that this letter has to convince someone and *my straits are such that I am forced to entreat even the most deaf charity,* I turn to You, Sir, and to no other of my friends, begging that you do

Letter
to
Heredia

me the favour of assistance for this once. May it be as generous as possible, for I warn you that I owe to the shopkeeper, alone, 2000 *reales*. And that this letter may not be all troubles and entreaties, Sir, with much secrecy and with great skill, I examined into the attitude of my relatives. I can say with regard to Señora Doña Francisca de Argote and Señor Don Martin de Carcamo, that they will be complaisant if I ask them for a habit between now and the end of August. This pleases me greatly *for I must know, wholly, this month which account is most pressing.* In all this, before God, it is necessary to act discreetly so that any complaint may be checked, even if gratitude is not increased. Opportunely, I am engaged on the printing and correcting of my rough drafts which will be in print by Christmas time, because, Sir, I know that I ought to condemn and I do condemn my silence, since the giving of these trifles to the press, whatever shame they may cost me, may bring money and peace.

The convalescence of the Bishop I have celebrated as is due and fitting in this his church. May Our Lord continue it with your good health and life, Sir.

Madrid 11 July, 1623.

D. Luis de Gongora.

I have not seen the Marquis since Corpus Christi. It is very hot and His Lordship lives far away" (59).

The soul of Góngora had, in truth, journeyed to a far country since the day the young cleric faced the episcopal inquiry.

His health gone, perhaps feeling that his mind was failing, with no money and in debt, with his nephew occupying his old position at the Cathedral, even had he wished to return to it, he was a desolate figure. Too well he knew that the frugal but independent life of a priest was better than a life at court, made possible only by the "oil of maintenance". His thoughts turned again and again to his quiet home in Córdoba, with its pleasant garden, with its brook and shady trees.

Return to
Córdoba

FAREWELL TO MADRID

Ill fare the man, who worships lords at
Court,
And in Madrid spends coin in reckless
sort,
Sold up by duns at last, to end his
sport.

Ye soothing streams, that through my
garden play,—
I speak amiss to call you soothing,—
nay,
Unlike to Flattery's soothing, clear as
day,—

Heaven speed me hence, to see you
once again:
Ye are not deaf or mute; your waves
complain
In murmuring voices answering to my
pain:

But whither have I stray'd? Again
ye smile
At my fond lays, sweet streams; who
oft erewhile

With laughing flow have mock'd my
simple style.

Still o'er your pebbly bed run laugh-
ing by

At my vain boast, who thought with
eagle's eye

The secrets of the Court's abyss to
spy;

And my poor ink abused, alas! the
taint!

Those heartless feasts with slavering
praise to paint,

As good as honouring Judas for a
saint.

On Manzanares' banks my songs had
told

Each chaste and fair one whom its rills
behold;

But the chill night-air struck my voice
with cold.

In short, base Flattery, Falsehood dark
and dire,

Those new-found sisters of the Aonian
choir,

Have burst the strings of my misgov-
ern'd lyre:

And what avails it now, to have it told,
The tuneful shell, ignobly mute and
cold,
Had ivory pedals once, and frets of
gold?

Its voice is dry, like proud Madrid's
poor river:

But now a silver bridge,—Heaven
bless the giver!

I've found, my Muse from bondage to
deliver.

. . .

For I have found the port for refuge
made,

The shelter from life's heat and storm,
the shade

Beneath the fragrant boughs that
never fade;

. . .

Battered and bruised by lawyer's for-
mal phrase,

Ground down by drudging clerks,
whose dull delays
Have worn me like a hack in miller's
maze.

O blest the man, whose choice hath
left untried
Those wrangling courts, which noise
and discord guide;
Or taught the skill to turn their quirks
aside;

Taught by plain truth great servitude
to hate,
That courtly worm, that winds with
serpent gait,
Or toils with crablike motion, never
straight.

O pledge of peace divine, sweet sol-
itude,
What though thy dwelling be with
peasants rude,
Deep hid in echoing dells, or silent
wood;

Sweet respite to hard town-life, hardly
won,

Rest to my wits, if they are yet my
own,
Not all through hot Ambition's lim-
beck flown;

But soft,—my trusty mule is at the door:
Good Dapple, bear me safe: I ask no
more (60).

In the autumn of 1623, a few months after writing his letter to Heredia, he returned to Córdoba. In February of the next year he assisted at the ceremonies celebrated in honour of the King's visit and wrote *Los días de Noe* (61). In June he assisted the Chapter of the Cathedral in preparing for Corpus Christi. Again he is with the Court in 1626 accompanying the King and his suite into Aragón, where he fell ill. He was well cared for. The Queen, Isabel of Bourbon, who had remained in Madrid as regent, sent to him both gifts and physicians. But Góngora had reached his last illness. He asked to be sent to Córdoba so that he should not lie in a strange land.

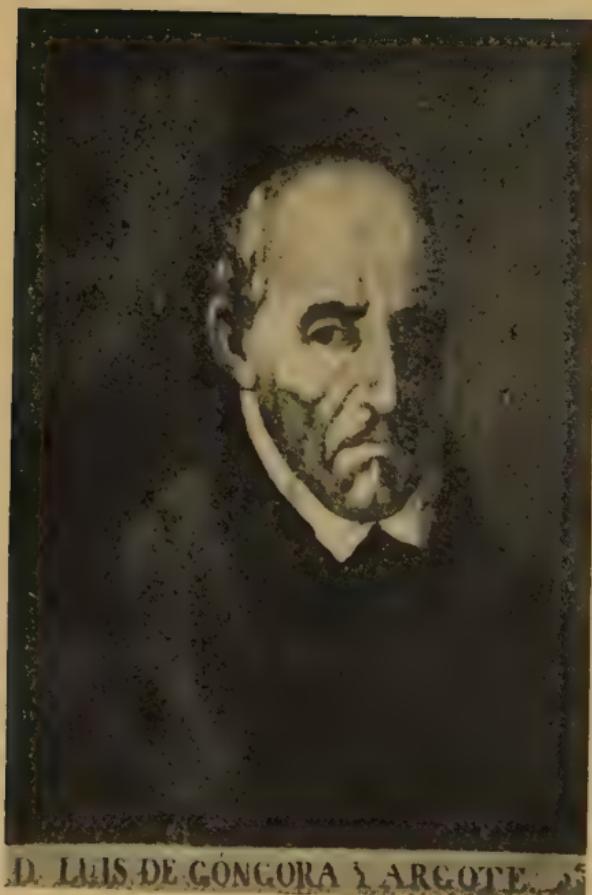
Festivities
at
Córdoba

Journey to
Aragón

Illness

Return to
Córdoba





D. LUIS DE GÓNGORA Y ARGOTE

PORTRAIT SIGNED: *Argote fe.*
From *Un nuevo retrato de Gongora*, by
E. Romero y Torres.

Pellicer said that he lingered a year with loss of memory, but ". . . All-Kind Providence restored it to him when he had greatest need of it, together with the knowledge that he was failing so that the blow which he was awaiting might not take him unaware. And thus having fulfilled his obligations as a Catholic Christian and recognizing that he was going into the presence of the Supreme Judge of his slightest and least important thought, declaring that he was dying in conformity with the Church, Our Mother, seeking and receiving the Sacraments, he surrendered his spirit to his Creator, the second day of Pentecost, Monday, the twenty-fourth of May, 1627, having lived sixty-five years, ten months, and thirteen days—a very brief time and a short span of life for a man so great. It was a marked day for the envy of his rivals and a sad one for the affection of his friends, the former felt gladness at his death, and the latter bewailed it, so at the same time were celebrated exequies and rejoicings. They interred him in the Holy Church of

Death

Córdoba in the Chapel of the *Gongoras* without placing any epitaph on his tomb. But a mighty inscription is silence and for one to whom the whole world is a tomb, his name alone is his best epitaph" (62).

Comparison
with
Swift

There is a remarkable resemblance between the Spanish Góngora and the English Swift. Thackeray in his life of the Dean said (63):

"Would we have liked to live with him? That is a question which . . . every reader of biographies must put to himself. . . . Would you have liked to be a friend of the great Dean? . . . The charm of Addison's companionship and conversation has passed to us by fond tradition—but Swift? If you had been his inferior in parts. . . . his equal in mere social station, he would have bullied, scorned, and insulted you. . . . If you had been a lord with a blue riband, who flattered his vanity, or could help his ambition, he would have been the most delightful company in the world. He would have been so manly, so sarcastic, so bright,

odd, and original, that you might think he had no object in view but the indulgence of his humour and that he was the most reckless, simple creature in the world. . . . Swift's name seems to me to be as good a name to point a moral or adorn a tale of ambition, as any hero's that ever lived and failed. But we must remember that the morality was lax. . . . that public society was in a strange disordered condition. . . . men were loose upon politics, and had to shift for themselves. They, as well as old beliefs and institutions, had lost their moorings and gone adrift in the storm. . . . almost every one took his unlucky share: a man of that time of the vast talents and ambition of Swift, could scarce do otherwise than grasp at his prize, and make a spring at his opportunity. His bitterness, his scorn, his rage, his subsequent misanthropy, are ascribed by some panegyrists to a deliberate conviction of mankind's unworthiness, and a desire to amend them by castigating."

This might almost equally well have been

written about the Cordovan poet of a century earlier. As for Swift's religion, Thackeray went on to say:

"I know of few things more conclusive as to the sincerity of Swift's religion than his advice to poor John Gay to turn clergyman and look out for a seat on the Bench. Gay, the author of the 'Beggar's Opera'—Gay, the wildest of the wits about town—it was this man that Jonathan Swift advised to take orders—to invest in a cassock and bands—just as he advised him to husband his shillings and put his thousand pounds out at interest. The Queen, and the bishops, and the world, were right in mistrusting the religion of that man."

Góngora as early as 1582 had said, and it may have cost him his promotions, in his *Agora que estoi de espacio*:

Yet I've a trick to cheat thy search,
And refuge find too long delay'd;
I'll take the vows of holy Church,
And seek some reverend cloister's
shade.

Quit thy poor bow, or wreak they
wrath

On some unconsecrated pate:
The Church a deadlier weapon hath,
For she can excommunicate (64).

Thackeray continued, "There is little or no cant—he is too great and too proud for that. . . but having put that cassock on, it poisoned him: he was strangled in his bands. . . Through life he always seems alone, somehow. . . The giants must live apart. The kings can have no company. But this man suffered so; and deserved so to suffer. . ."

Góngora, the Spanish Roman Catholic priest, was like the shadow of this tremendous personality. It was not the cassock which strangled him; his bands were rather those imposed by dependence. Swift lived fully, and suffered fully. Unflinchingly and with the complete knowledge that he had earned it, he drank to the last drop his poisoned cup, while Góngora turned his face aside. He had sold his talent for a

Personality

place at court and then raged at the ancient order which sanctioned it, rather than at himself because he had soiled his white plume.

There was no Stella and no Vanessa in Góngora's life to torture him further. He never married. The mature man who was capable of writing to a bridegroom friend,

Count all the griefs you've known
since life began;
The worst remains—to be a married
man (65),

was not a person to inspire affection.

His poetry came from the mind; there is little emotion in it, beyond bitterness and sarcasm. This leaves nothing to reach across the years and make its appeal to our sympathy. His torture came from haughty pride and thwarted ambition—human, but neither extenuating nor appealing. Little remains to make us feel that he had a likable side. Swift and even Lope, with all of their sins of omission and commission, have something hu-

manly lovable about them. The only incident which history has preserved to attract our fancy is the young cleric's youthful insolence to the grave and reverend bishop.

Time has not dealt kindly with the Andalusian gentleman, the poet of the cultured, Don Luis de Góngora y Argote.



NOTES

The 1921 edition of Góngora's *Obras poéticas*, edited by R. Foulché-Delbos and referred to as the F.-D. ed., is used as the standard text throughout.

(1) Wiffen's translation (*The works of Garcilasso de la Vega*. London, 1823. p. 70-71) of Góngora's *A Angelica, y Medoro*. (F.-D. ed. v. 1, p. 227-228.)

(2) The anonymous author of *Panegyrico por la poesía*, published at Montilla, near Córdoba, in 1627, said that Góngora was born on the *Calle de Marcial*.

The following baptismal certificate is given by Francisco Rodríguez Marín (*Pedro Espinosa*. Madrid, 1907. p. 163, note 2): "En 12 de julio de 1561 años baptizó bartolome perez a luis hijo de don Francisco de argote y doña Leonor de gongora su muger, fueron compadres don diego de sosa y Luis de

angulo, comadres doña Beatriz de gongora y
doña elvira benegas vecinos de cordoba.—*L.
Bar^{me} Perez de Velasco'* (*Archivo parroquial
del Sagrario.* lib. II de Bautismos, fol. 196.)"

The declaration of *limpieza* from the records of the Cathedral at Córdoba extracted by the Canon, Don Manuel González y Francés (*Góngora, racionero.* Córdoba, 1896. p. 11-15) gives further information about his family. "En la dicha ciudad de Córdoba, á diez y neuve días del dicho mes de febrero del dicho año de mil y quinientos ochenta y cinco, ante su Señoría Iltma. el Obispo y señores Canónigo y Racionero, presente yo el notario para la dicha información, recibieron juramento, en forma debida de derecho, de Ambrosio de Morales, clérigo-presbytero, coronista de S. M., vecino desta ciudad de Córdoba, el cual juramento en forma de derecho él lo hizo; y dijo y juntamente prometió decir verdad de lo que supiese y le fuere preguntado: y á las dichas preguntas dijo y depuso lo siguiente: "A la primera pregunta: dijo el declarante que conocia al dicho don Luís de Góngora y Argote, clérigo, y Racº. que pretende ser en la Santa Catedral de esta ciudad de Córdoba, y asímismo conoció al Licdo. don Francisco de Argote, Juez de bienes y Consultor del Santo Oficio de la

ciudad; y asímismo conoce á doña Leonor de Góngora, su mujer: y sabe bien que los dichos licenciado don Francisco de Argote y doña Leonor de Góngora son padres del dicho don Luís de Góngora y Argote, el cual es su hijo legítimo, habido y procreado de legítimo matrimonio; porque el testigo como tal le vió criar y alimentar en su casa, y por tal ser habido y tenido, y conocido y reputado por tal lo tiene. Y que conoció á Alonso Fernández de Argote, Veinticuatro de esta ciudad, desde sesenta años atrás que, siendo ambos niños, estudiaban ambos, el testigo y él, Gramática en el estudio de Alejo Montesino, Rector de la Iglesia de santo Andrés; y estaba entonces el dicho Alonso Fernández en tutoría de Alonso de Figueroa el de la Pontezuela de tresaguas; y sabe que después el dicho Alonso Fernández de Argote casó con doña Leonor de Angulo, y procrearon durante el dicho matrimonio por su hijo legítimo al dicho licenciado don Francisco de Argote, y son los abuelos paternos del dicho don Luís de Góngora y Argote; y que no conoció á Luís de Góngora y doña Ana de Falces, por no ser de aquí los abuelos maternos de dicho don Luís, aunque de su linaje y de ellos tiene buena noticia. Y que el dicho Alonso Fernández de Argote fué natural de la ciudad de Córdoba, y

su mujer del dicho Alonso, que le decían doña Leonor de Angulo, era vecina y moradora de la villa de Montilla, donde estaba y residía con su madre doña María de Angulo, viuda, bisabuela del dicho don Luís de Argote, que el testigo conoció vivir y morar en la dicha villa de Montilla. Y que á los demás contenidos en la pregunta, el testigo no los ha conocido y no sabe que tanto tiempo há que fallecieron; y esto responde.

“ ‘Fué preguntado por su edad y preguntas generales de la ley, y dijo el dicho testigo que es de setenta y un años poco más, y que no es pariente ni enemigo del dicho don Luís de Góngora y Argote, ni le tocan ninguna de las generales de la ley.

“ ‘A la segunda pregunta dijo: Que á los que conoció de los que dicho tiene, los tiene y tuvo siempre por christianos viejos y de limpia casta y generación, sin mácula, ni raza de judíos, moros ni conversos; y que lo sabe porque habiéndose criado el testigo en Montilla, donde el doctor Antonio de Morales, su padre, vivía con los marqueses de Priego, conoció allí á la dicha doña Leonor de Angulo, madre del licenciado don Francisco de Argote, y al dicho licenciado don Francisco de Argote desde pequeño, y á la dicha doña María de Angulo, viuda, bisabuela del dicho don Luís

de Góngora y Argote, que son y fueron habidos siempre por tan calificados de la limpieza de su casta como la pregunta lo pide: y sabe el testigo que el dicho licenciado Francisco de Argote fué Juez de bienes y Consultor del Santo Oficio de esta ciudad de Córdoba, y si no fuera limpio no le dieran el dicho oficio; y por tales cristianos viejos y limpios siempre el testigo les ha tenido y tiene; sabiendo que han sido habidos, tenidos y conocidos entre las personas que les conocían, por tales, y así lo oyó decir, y lo sabe por haberlos conocido y tratado por haberse criado juntos. Y en cuanto á los abuelos maternos, que no conoció, siempre oyó los tener y reputar por cristianos viejos y tales como la pregunta dice; y es lo que sabe de la pregunta, y responde de ella.

“ ‘A la tercera pregunta dijo el testigo, que todo lo susodicho por él declarado es verdad, público y notorio, y en ello y en cada una cosa de lo declarado dijo se afirmaba y afirmó, y ratificaba y ratificó; y siéndole vuelto á leer, lo firmó de su nombre. Fuéle encargado tenga secreto en cuanto ha dicho: así lo prometió á su Señoría Ilma. y á los dichos Señores. Lo firmaron.—A. Cordubensis.—Ambr. de Morales.—Lic. Christoval de Mesa Cortés.—Dr. de Morales = Ante mi—Gaspar Alvarez, Notar^s ’ ”.

This declaration is also of value in showing the kind of testimony necessary to prove *limpieza*. Góngora was to collect it for many candidates for the Church.

(3) Fuente, Vicente de la. *Historia de las universidades . . . en España*. Madrid, 1885. v. 2, p. 230-231.

(4) Ríos de Lampérez, Blanca de los. *Del siglo de oro*. Madrid, 1910. p. 128.

(5) Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. *Fray Luis de Leon*. [Oxford,] 1921. p. 209.

(6) Medina, Pedro de. *Primera y segvnda parte de las grandezas y cosas notables de España*. Alcalá de Henares, 1595. f225.

(7) Góngora y Argote, Luis de. *Obras*. Brusselas, 1659. p. [x].

(8) This *Vida menor* was probably written either by Góngora's friend and townsman, Gonzalo de Hózés y Córdova, whose name appears on the title-page as the compiler of the *Obras*, or, as Foulché-Delbosc says, (*Revue hispanique* August 1915. v. XXXIV, p. [577]) by Joseph Pellicer de Salas y Tovar who claimed authorship in his *Bibliotheca* (Valencia, 1671). It may have been written to accompany the Chacón manuscript with whose "Life" it is almost identical. It does

not, however, seem to be written in Pellicer's usual style.

(9) Góngora. *Obras*. Brusselas, 1659. p. [x].

(10) Churton's translation (*Gongora*. London, 1862. 2 v. v. 1, p. 10) of "Festiuas ellas en aquellos años dulces y peligrosos, le dieron a beber (desatadas las gracias en los numeros) tanta sal, que passò el sabor sazonado a ardor picante". (F.-D. ed. v. 3, p. 292).

(11) Churton. v. 1, p. 8.

(12) F.-D. ed. v. 2, p. 11-16.

(13) Bowring, Sir John. *Ancient poetry and romances of Spain*. London, 1824. p. 214-215. The original may be found in F.-D. ed. v. 1, p. 6-8.

(14) Quadrado, J. M. *Salamanca*. Barcelona, 1884. p. 151-152, note 2. These tablets were not found in the spring of 1923. The fact that the library was being repaired may be the explanation, but the guides appeared to have never heard of them.

(15) Góngora. *Cartas*. p. 23, 70.

(16) Cejador y Frauca, Julio. *Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana*. Madrid, 1915-20. v. 3, p. 152. Rodríguez Marín gives these notes by Don Andrés de Morales y

Padilla: “ ‘D. Francisco de Argote, hijo de D. Alonso de Argote y de D^a Leonor de Angulo y Aranda, hija de Alonso de Aranda, alcaide de Montilla, fué un gran letrado en leyes y cánones, juez del Fisco de la Inquisición y corregidor de Madrid. Casó con D^a Leonor de Góngora, hija de Luis de Góngora, y tuvieron hijos á D. Luis de Góngora, racionero de la Santa Iglesia de Córdoba, D. Juan de Argote y Góngora, D^a Francisca de Góngora, que casó con D. Gonzalo de Saavedra, y D^a María Ponce de León, que casó con D. Juan de Argote, veinticuatro de Córdoba’ (*Archivo municipal de Córdoba, ms.*).” A. de Burgos (*Blasón de España*. Madrid, 1862. v. 2, p. 10-11, letra C) does not mention a sister María.

(17) F.-D. ed. v. 3, p. 52-53.

(18) Churton. v. 2, p. 270-271. Is this Turner MS. the same as the one described by Foulché-Delbosc (*Note sur trois manuscrits des œuvres poétiques de Gongora* in *Revue hispanique*. v. VII, p. 454-504) as the Estrada MS? The latter was, in 1836, in the possession of F. Estrada. It was later acquired by Quaritch (no. 1441 of his *A catalogue of . . . bindings*. London, 1889), by Damascène Morgand, by Foulché-Delbosc, and by Hiersemann who offered it for sale in 1922

(*Catalogue* 499, no. 289). The note which Churton translated is given by Foulché-Delbos (p. 492) as: ". . . i lo cierto, que su hermàno de Don Luis se llamò Don Iuan de Gongora, apellido por el qual se conociò, i no por el de Argote: (esto en el curioso es culpa; que en otro no lo fuera, no siendo de Cordoba, como el lo es) i assi mismo, que èste Caballero Don Iuan no supo si su hermàno hacìa versos, ni los oïò: ni desperdiçiò (digamos lo assi) atomo de tiempo en saber si os avia en el mundo, ni Musas en el Parnaso. Assi que en èstas materias crea el Lector que Don Luis naciò en Cordoba; i su hermàno en las Philippinas, o mas distante. I supuesto esto, ài alguno, que se persuada a que Don Iuan acabò la Comedia, i no Don Luis'".

(19) Rodríguez Marín. chapter V, note 20.

(20) Argote de Molina, Gonzalo. *Nobleza de Andaluzia*. Seuilla, 1588. v°f 45: ". . . Y afsi por tradiciones antiguas de algunos otros linages consta, averfe señalado en esta batalla fus passados, y aver quedado memoria en fus Escudos . . . Ruy Martinez de Argote (que de antes traya por Armas vn Escudo xaquelado de Veros azules, y plata en campo roxo, Armas primeras deste linage, como consta por escripturas antiguas) puso los

Veros en Cruz, como oy los traen los deste Apellido, y el linage de Fuenmayor, y otros . . . Don Ximeno de Gōgora consta por memorias antiguas, averse hallado en esta batalla, traya de antes por Armas cinco Leones de oro en cāpo roxo, y en memoria della los puso en forma de Cruz, y los cuarteles en cāpo de plata . . ." (escutcheons illustrated on f46).

(21) Rodríguez Marín. chapter V, note 6: "En 27 de septiembre de 1579, llamándose solamente 'clérigo beneficiado de la iglesia de Cañete y prestamero de la villa de Santaella y de Guadalmazán', otorga que recibe del ilustre y muy reverendo Sr. D. Francisco de Góngora, racionero de la Santa Iglesia, su tío, mil ducados á buena cuenta de lo que éste había cobrado é iba cobrando de los frutos de las dichas tres piezas que poseía, los cuales dichos maravedís recibió en los gastos que el dicho señor D. Francisco había hecho con él en Salamanca en sus estudios, como parecía por las cuentas que estaban en su poder, y con trescientos ducados que de presente le había dado para el viaje que había hecho á la dicha Universidad de Salamanca á estudiar, de los cuales 1.000 ducados se daba por contento" (*Archivo de protocolos lib. 19,*

fol. 1483). “Dos cosas se echan de ver por estas escrituras: la una, que D. Luis gastaba muchos ducados en sus estudios, y la otra, que el racionero, su tío, hermano de su madre, era su protector más que cobrador de sus rentas eclesiásticas, pues le daba á la mano dineros por cuenta de lo que fuese cobrando, mientras que el sobrino, para vender su panterciado, daba poder á otro y cobrada su precio”.

(22) *Ibid.* note 8: “En 7 de marzo de 1582 D. Francisco de Argote, juez de bienes confiscados de la Inquisición, y D. Luis de Góngora, su hijo, en su presencia y con su licencia, otorgaron poder al ilustre Sr. D. Gabriel de Córdoba y á Juan de Contreras, estantes en Salamanca, para que en su nombre parecieran ante el muy ilustre señor maestrescuela de las escuelas de la Universidad y respondieran á una demanda que les tenían puesta los herederos del licenciado Aguilera pidiéndoles los ducados “que dicen haber dado el dicho aguilera de alimentos al dicho don Luis de Gongora . . . y ponerlo por reconvencion á los dichos herederos dos mil ducados y más que entraron en poder del Aguilera para los alimentos, de lo cual no han dado cuenta . . .” (*Pro-*

tocolo de Miguel Jerónimo, lib. 24, fol. 393 vto.)”.

(23) F.-D. ed. v. 1, p. 96-104.

(24) Bowring's translation (p. 218) of a *letrilla* written in 1609 (F.-D. ed. v. 1, p. 319-320).

(25) Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. *Góngora*. [London, 1917?] p. 3.

(26) Rodríguez Marín. chapter V, note 8.

(27) González y Francés, Manuel. *Góngora, racionero*. Córdoba, 1896. p. 16.

(28) *Ibid.* p. 8-9.

(29) Fitzmaurice-Kelly. p. 4-5; Thomas, L.-P., *Gongora et le gongorisme*. Paris, 1911. p. 11-14; González y Francés. *Don Luis de Góngora*. Córdoba, 1899.

“MANIFESTACIÓN JUDICIAL

“Estos son los cargos que hace á *Don Luis de Góngora* el Rmo. Sr. Obispo de la diócesis:

“ ‘I. El racionero Sr. Góngora asiste rara vez al Coro, y cuando acude á rezar las Horas Canónicas anda de acá para allá, saliendo con frecuencia de su silla.

“ ‘II. Habla mucho durante el Oficio Divino.

A N D M O N O G R A P H S

“ III. Forma en los corrillas del Arco de Bendiciones, donde se trata de vidas agenesas.

“ IV. Ha concurrido á fiestas de toros en la Plaza de la Corredera, contra lo terminantemente ordenado á los clérigos por *motu proprio* de Su Santidad. [Refers to the famous edict of Pius V issued November 20th, 1567 prohibiting *corridas* “and placing all princes who should permit its continuance in their dominions under the ban of excommunication, as well as all ecclesiastics who should witness it, together with the bullfighters themselves, depriving the latter of Christian burial, if their lives were lost in the ring.”—Huntington, A. M. *A note-book in northern Spain*. New York, 1898. p. 100-101].

“ V. Vive—en fin—como muy mozo, y anda de día y de noche en cosas lijeras; trata con representantes de comedias, y escribe coplas profanas” .

“RESPUESTA AUTÓGRAFA

“Contestación literal de D. Luis de Góngora, escrita de su puño y letra ante el Obispo, que la autoriza con su firma, es la siguiente:

H I S P A N I C N O T E S

“ ‘Respondiendo á los cargos que por parte de V. S. me han sido puestos, digo:

“ ‘Al primero, que aunque es verdad que no puedo alegar en mi favor tanta asistencia al Coro como algunos á quien se les ha hecho este mismo cargo, no he sido de los que menos residieron, ni en mis salidas fuera de él ha habido menos que causa forzosa y justa, ya por necesidades mías, ya por negocios á que he sido llamado.

“ ‘Al segundo: Que he estado siempre en las Horas con tanto silencio como el que más; porque, aun cuando quiera no estar con el que se me manda, tengo á mis lados un sordo y uno que jamás cesa de cantar; y así callo, por no tener quien me responda.

“ ‘Al tercero: Que á las conversaciones y juntas del Arco de las Bendiciones donde ya me hallado, asisten tantas personas graves y virtuosas, y se tratan negocios tan otros de lo que se hace cargo, que no responde por ellos para no agraviallos.

“ ‘Al quarto: Que si ví los toros, que hubo en la Corredera las fiestas del año pasado, fué por saber iban á ellas personas de más años y más órdenes que yo y que tendrán más obligación de temer y de entender mejor los *motus proprios* de Su Santidad.

“ ‘Al quinto: Que ni mi vida es tan escandalosa, ni yo tan viejo, que se me pueda acusar de vivir como mozo. Que mi conversación con representantes y con los demás de este oficio es dentro de mi casa, donde vienen como á las de cuantos hombres honrados y caballeros suelen, y más á la mía por ser tan aficionado á música.

“ ‘Que, aunque es verdad que en el hacer coplas he tenido alguna libertad, no ha sido tanta como la que se me carga; porque las más Letrillas, que me achacan, no son mías, como podría V. S. saber si mandase informar dello; y que si mi poesía no ha sido tan espiritual como debiera, que mi poca Theología me desculpa: pues es tan poca, que he tenido por mejor ser condenado por liviano que por hereje.

“ ‘A todos los cuales cargos responde lo dicho, y concluyo besando las manos de V. S. cien mil veces.”—D. Luis de Góngora’ ”.

(30) Góngora. *Todas las obras*. Madrid, 1654. f130-131. *No viene á mí . . .*, although listed in the indexes of the Hózés editions, is not found. In the 1614 edition of the *Romancero general* it is with other poems by Góngora although not definitely assigned to him.

(31) González y Francés. *Don Luis de Góngora*. p. [16].

“AUTO DEFINITIVO

“En 29 de agosto de 1589 notificóse al racionero Góngora el fallo del Obispo amonestándole que en todo guarde la forma de Estatutos, y se abstenga en lo sucesivo de ir á toros, ó se procederá con rigor; y por lo pasado le condena en cuatro ducados para Obras Pías”.

(32) González y Francés. *Góngora, racionero*. p. 24-25, *tr.*

(33) Churton's translations (v. 1, p. 275-276). The originals are in the F.-D. ed. (v. I, p. 175-6 and v. 3, p. 27.).

ON HIS YOUTHFUL SICKNESS

The Tormes upon his banks had mourn'd me dead,
Laid in a swoon and trance of sleep profound
While thrice the ruddy God of Day unbound
His team, and stall'd his steeds in Ocean's bed:
Rare marvel was it, when I rear'd my head,
And gazed, as Lazarus might, all wondering,
round;
Or rather, like the tricksy vagabond,
Of whom Castille in merry tales hath read:

AND MONOGRAPHS

For I, like Lazarillo, be it known,
Served a blind beggar, oft in fire and flame
Emperill'd, till my life was scarce my own.
O joy! if my deliverance be the same
As Lazarillo's, that base service done,
And witty vengeance salve the smart and
shame.

TO DON GERONIMO MANRIQUE,
BISHOP ELECT OF CORDOVA

Not as a stranger guest, good reverend Sire,
I came to your fair palace: Heaven above
Is witness, how the thought of friends we
love
Makes sweet the rough road's toil, that else
would tire.
But, ah! the cruel sickness, herald dire
Of that stern Power, whose pity none can
move,
Dogging my steps, my feeble force out-
strove,
Till One more mighty heard my heart's de-
sire,
And cherish'd, by your guardian care
benign,
I rose to health and safety. For such boon,
May life unvex'd by suffering long be yours,

Where Boetis through dark woods is seen to
shine,
Honour and age in happy union,
And God's sweet comfort speed the white-
wing'd hours.

(34) Churton's translation (v. 2, p. 93-95)
of *En los pinares* (F.-D. ed. v. 1, p. 240-242).
He also translated (v. 2, p. 187) *Erase en*
Cuenca (F.-D. ed. v. 3, p. 23):

HARD FARE AT CUEÑCA

To Cuenca, town of rocks and stony valleys,
A wanderer came, with hunger sore bestead;
And gain'd dry biscuit, when he ask'd for
bread,

Hard as afflicts poor martyrs in the galleys:
An angel brought this dole, refined in malice,
Cruel as fair; she might as soon have fed
His need with fragments from the flint-
worn bed,

Where Jucar tumbles down through green-
wood alleys.

"No more of biscuit; give me stones," he
said;

"Perchance your townsmen live upon such
commons:

AND MONOGRAPHS

Time scarce could do with cliffs what they
have done:
Or have these headlands seen Medusa's head,
Like Atlas old, and thou, whose form is
woman's,
Art some rock-fairy, in and out all stone?"

(35) Thomas, L.-P. *Gongora et le gongorisme*. p. 10, note: "Barrera . . . dit également: 'no se ordenó de sacerdote hasta el 1606', et Churton assigne à cette cérémonie à peu près la même date . . . Or, González y Francés a constaté, en dépouillant les Actes du chapitre de Cordoue, que Gongora assista personnellement aux chapitres du 14 août 1585, ce qui n'était pas possible lorsqu'on n'avait pas été ordonné *in sacris* . . . 'pues los estatutos de esta Iglesia, vigentes desde 1577, exigen en los prebendados esa precisa condición para entrar en los cabildos sin que pudiera extenderse el llamamiento [*sic!*] á ninguno que no tuviese orden sagrado ó mayor . . .'"

(36) Churton. v. 2, p. 177-178 (F.-D. ed. v. I, p. 307-309).

(37) González y Francés. *Gongora, racionario*. p. 78: "A fin de identificar con exactitud rigorosa la casa de la plazuela de la

Trinidad, morada en sus últimos años del ilustre señor don *Luís de Góngora*, conviene dejar consignado que en las Lonjas antiguas están registradas al folio 372, y en aquellas como en las nuevas y también en los libros de contaduría llevan el número 209. Podría formarse por esos asientos lista de sus locatarios desde don Luís de Saavedra y Góngora, muerto á 19 de Octubre de 1642, hasta que por la desamortización salió la casa del poder del Cabildo, en 1841; mas no siendo esto del caso, bastará decir, porque ha de haber cordobeses que aún lo recuerden, que es la misma casa donde vivieron, desde 1814 hasta su fallecimiento el Lectoral don Miguel García Pisa; en 1824 hasta 1830 el canónigo don Juan Félix Calvo; en 1830 doña Ramona de Argote, viuda; en 1831 don Francisco de Paula Freire de Andrade, Brigadier de Caballería de los Reales Ejércitos con destino de cuartel en esta ciudad, y por su muerte siguió con el arrendamiento su hermano don Juan José; después don Matías Indurraín, como principal, teniendo de fiador á don Pedro Gorrindo, y en fin, desde 1835 hasta que se hizo entrega de la casa en el citado año 1841, la señora doña Angela Erice, con el mismo fiador."

The house, which is of gray limestone, with a brown tile roof, has this inscription: | En esta casa murió | en 23 de mayo de 1627 | el célebre poeta cordobés | D. Luis de Gongora | y Argote | Recuerdo | de varios escritores y amantes | de las letras. | Lucien-Paul Thomas said of it (*Góngora et le gongorisme*. p. 32), "C'est une petite maison très insignifiante. Un patio carré, blanchi à la chaux, orné de deux colonnes libres et de deux autres en-châssées dans le mur, y donne accès. Il ne m'a pas été permis d'y entrer."

(38) Churton translated two poems to Luisa de Cardona, v. I, p. 289 (F.-D. ed. v. 3, p. 14-15) and v. I, p. 290-293 (F.-D. ed. v. I, p. 178-180). Extracts from the latter are herewith given.

ON THE DEATH OF LOUISA DE CARDONA

And art thou dead, sweet lady?

How oft, amidst the wreath,
That decks young brows at May-day,
Lies coil'd the serpent death!

Those arrows, heavenward tending
On love's young eagle-wing,
The bow too rudely bending,
Have left a broken string.

Thou wind, that through the forest
Sad-sounding, bidst the tree
Deplore whom thou deplorest,
How mourn the woods with thee!

The laurel-grove, that shadeth
The ground where she is laid;
No scorching sun invadeth
That chaste and verdant shade;

No tomb shall there be builded,
Where flaunting sunbeams play,
And costly marble gilded
Outbraves the dazzling day;

But where the ground is holy
And meek ones walk with pray'r,
The modest stone and lowly
Its lasting scroll shall bear:

"Stay, stranger, if thou carest
True virtue's praise to know;
A form of hers, the fairest,
Here rests in earth below:

"Valencia's starlike daughter
She rose by Turia's wave,
And here to Tayo's water
Her parting radiance gave."

(39) *Tradiciones cordobesas*. Córdoba, 1863. v. I, p. [241]-261.

(40) Rodríguez Marín. Chapter V, note 16 says: “. . . Al fol. 55 vto. de la de Sevilla (caso 28 de la segunda parte) se cuenta que ‘D. Luis de Gongora el famoso’ y su primo hermano D. Pedro de Angulo se encontraron con D. Rodrigo de Vargas y D. Pedro de Hoces, señor de la Albaida, y riñeron sobre unas palabras, resultando heridos Góngora y Angulo, éste muy gravemente. Los hechores se retrajeron en la Compañía y tomado á empeño los de la justicia el hallarlos, no quedó convento que no registrasen, extremando sus pesquisas en la Compañía, en una de cuyas bóvedas, ya en vano registrada, los escondieron los padres, echando la losa. Allí permanecieron ‘mas de treynta días, con un hacha encendida . . . leyendo vidas de santos á pura fuerza’, hasta que los heridos mejoraron y se concertó el buen arreglo del asunto”

(41) Rennert, H. A. *The life of Lope de Vega*. p. 211-213.

(42) Churton's translation (v. I, p. 267-277) of *Sentème a las riberas* (F.-D. ed. v. 3, p. 12).

(43) *Lleguè a Valladolid, Jura Pisuerga a
fee de Cauallero, Vos sois Valladolid? Vos sois
el valle, and Valladolid, de lagrimas sois valle* (F.-D. ed. v. 1, p. 250-252).

(44) The date 1617, which is evidently a mistake, is ascribed to the *Panegyrico* in the F.-D. ed. (v. 2, p. 261-283).

(45) Churton v. 2, p. 269-270. This translation was possibly made from the manuscript which Foulché-Delbosc designates as the Estrada MS. (already referred to under note 18).

(46) Vega Carpio, Lope Félix de. *La filomena*. Barcelona, 1621. *f207-v°f207*.

(47) Churton's translation (v. 2, p. 188) of *Grandes mas que elephantes* (F.-D. ed. v. 1, p. 106-107).

(48) *Amor secreto hasta celos*. (Vega Carpio. *Obras, pub. por la Real Academia española*. Madrid, 1917. v. 3, p. 390-421).

(49) Vega Carpio. *Lavrel de Apolo*. Madrid, 1630. *f123-v°f123*.

A LA NVEVA LENGVA

Boscan, tarde llegamos. Ay posada?
Llamad desde la pofta Garcilafo.
Quien es? dos Caualleros del Parnanfo.
No ay donde nocturnar palestra armada.

AND MONOGRAPHS

No entiendo lo que dize la criada.
 Madona que dezis? Que afecten paſo
 Que obſtentā limbos el mentido Ocaſo,
 Y el Sol depinge la porcion roſada.
 Eſtas en ti muger? Negofe al tino
 El Ambulante huelped. Que en tan poco
 tiempo, tal lengua entre Criftianos aya?
 Boscan, perdiſo auemos el camino,
 Preguntad por Caſtilla, que eſtoy loco,
 O no auemos falido de Vizcaya.

(50) Rennert. p. 285-286.

(51) F.-D. ed. v. 3, p. 38-39.

Si empuña, si embraça acaso
 Lança i adarga el Parnaso,
 Defended el honor mio,
 Aunque no està (io lo fio)
 En la vega Garcí Laso.

(52) Churton's translation (v. 2, p. 19) of *A los apassionados por Lope de Vega* (F.-D. ed. v. 3, p. 5-6). L.-P. Thomas (in *Le lyrisme et la préciosité cultistes en Espagne*, chapter X,) says:

"Pour comprendre ce sonnet, qui n'est d'ailleurs, ni parfaitement logique, ni rigoureusement d'accord avec la grammaire, il faut se rappeler le sens que nous avons vu prendre

aux mots *llano* et *castellano* à l'époque des polémiques cultistes. Ce dernier vocable était donc pris dans un sens défavorable pour désigner les écrivains qui prétendaient n'en tenir à l'idiome traditionnel sans tirer parties ressources des langues classiques; on faisait remarquer qu'il rime avec *llano* qui signifie *facile, uni, plat, vulgaire*.

“Ce parler *castillan* dont il méprise la facilité, Gongora le traite de piquette, laissant en même temps entendre, par un jeu de mots, que ceux qui distillent cette piquette (*agua chirle*) sont des *poetas chirles*, des poètes crottés.

“Tandis que ses ennemis lui reprochaient de cultiver des jardins embrouillés et intrincables, le poète de Cordoue, par un nouveau calembour, se rit de la platitude de Vega dont le nom signifie *plaine*.

“On trouve encore ici l'une des injures les plus fréquemment dirigées à l'adresse des mots cultistes; c'est l'épithète de *lego*, profane, philistein.

“Ce sonnet qui contient, en opposition à *cultos*, les quatre dénominations habituelles: *patos—castellanos, llanos, legos* (*turba lega*) auxquelles ne manque guère que l'appellation

méprisante de *claros*, est donc un document très caractéristique des luttes de cette époque . . .”

(53) F.-D. ed. v. 3, p. 4; Barrera y Leirado, C. A. de la. *Nueva biografía* in *Obras de Lope de Vega*, pub. por la Real Academia española. v. 1, p. 128-129.

(54) Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation (Thomas, Henry, *Three translators of Góngora*. p. 238-239) of *En la muerte de D. Rodrigo Calderon*, (F.-D.ed.v.2,p.348-349).

(55) F.-D. ed. v. 3, p. 234.

(56) Pacheco, Francisco. *Arte de la pintura*. Sevilla, 1649. p. 102.

(57) F.-D. ed. v. 3, p. 306.

(58) This will which was published, with other documents from the Library of the Academy of History, by Lucas de Torre may be found in *Revue hispanique* v. XXXIV (1915) and also in F.-D. ed. v. 3, p. 285-290.

(59) F.-D. ed. v. 3, p. 218-219.

(60) Churton's translation (v. 2, p. 20-25) of *Mal aia el que en Señores idolatra* (F.-D. ed. v. 1, p. 303-307).

(61) F.-D. ed. v. 2, p. 383-384; and González y Francés. *Góngora, racionero*. p. 73.

(62) F.-D. ed. v. 3, p. 305-306.

D. Antonio Riquelme y Quirós (*Cenotaphiologium hispanum. v° f63*) gives to Góngora the following epitaph:

"Ludovicus de Gongora | Civis, et Portionarius Cordubensis. | Hispanæ Poeseos Maiestate | Nulli secundus | Bene de Philomusis meritus. | Male de Sycophantis auditus. | Charitum delicium, Aonidum Fulcrum. | Obiit | Cordubæ natali solo | Die 24 Maij, Fer. 2. ann. 1627. Etatis. 66. | Natus die 11 Junij Fer. 6. Ann. 1561. | Inclyta, quem gemuit, tumulo dat Corduba ingens: | Claudiatur hic patriæ Gongora dulce decus, | Principis emerita Lyricorum laude venustum | Pimpla helit reboans, plausit Apollo suus. | Corduba, quid mirum, prolem ter maxima iactet? | Clara virum tantum Corduba sola daret. |

According to González y Francés (*Góngora, racionero.* p. 74) Góngora died on the twenty-third of May and was buried on the twenty-fourth.

In 1877 a memorial service was held in the Cathedral. Don Francisco de Borja Pavón presided. Blanco-Belmonte (*Los mejores poesías de Góngora*) in speaking of it gave this description of the chapel: “. . . y

siguiendo rectamente la primera nave costera con el muro occidental, fueron a detenerse en el ángulo formado al Sur por la Capilla de San Bartolomé que, sobre un altar de azulejería de la centuria décimocuatro muestra un lienzo con el trasunto del martirio del Santo titular . . .”

(63) Thackeray, W. M. *Jonathan Swift* (In *The Harvard classics*. New York. [c1910], v. 28, p. 3-27.)

(64) Churton's translation (v. 2, p. 160) of *Perdona, pues, mi bonete* (F.-D. ed. v. 1, p. 32-36). It may be well to add that this is addressed to Góngora's old enemy, Love.

(65) Churton's translation (v. 2, p. 274) of ‘Añada quien quisiere otros mil males:
Que el ser casado es el maior de todos.’

F.-D. ed. v. 3, p. 26.

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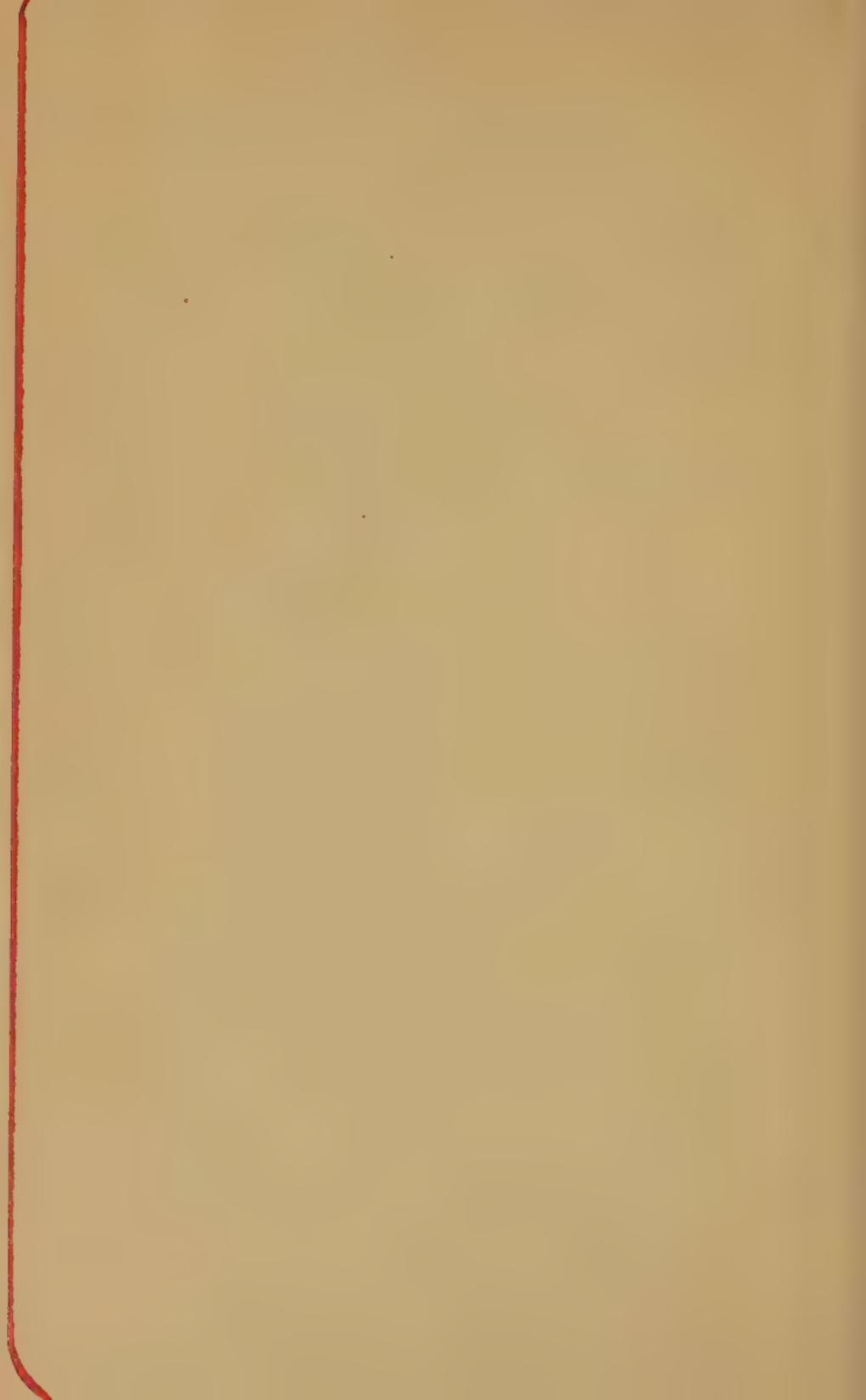
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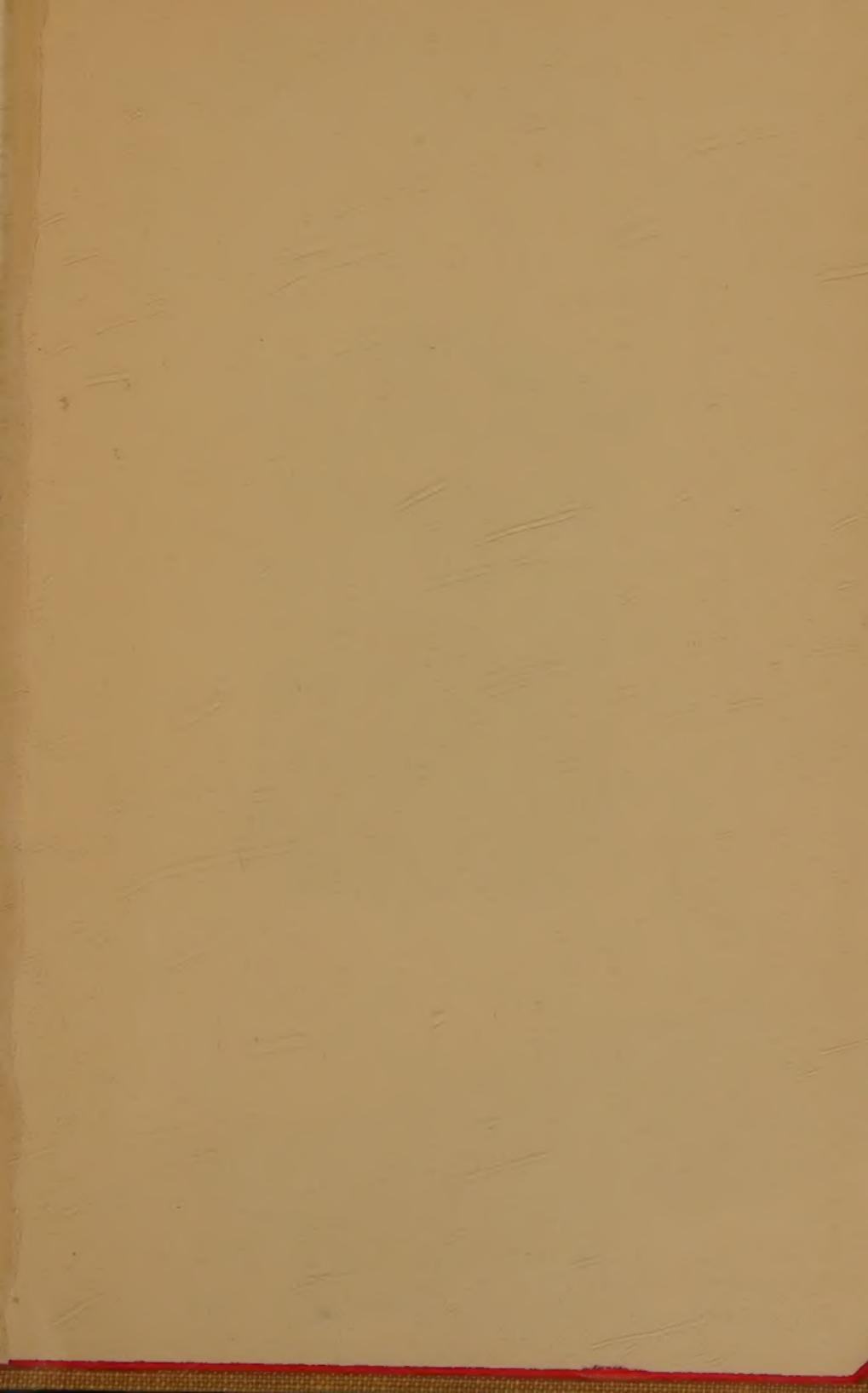
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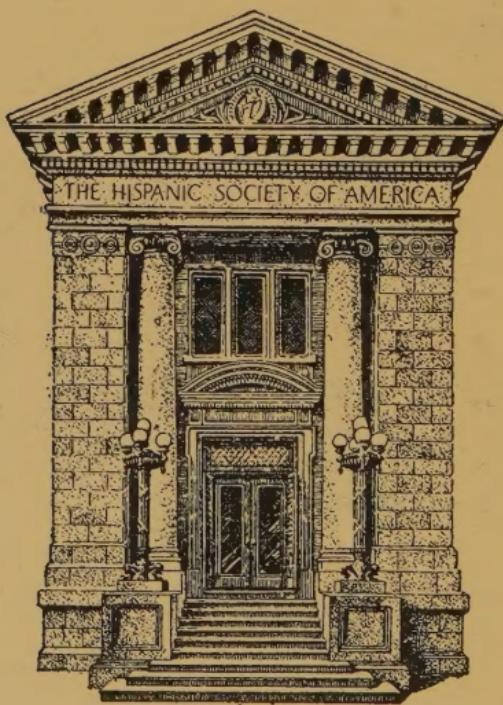
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